Vol. II,
31st March, 1955 (Thursday)

LOK SABHA DEBATES

(Part I—Questions and Answers)

(Vol. II contains Nos. 21—40)

LOK SABHA SECRETARIAT
NEW DELHI

FOUR ANNAS (INLAND)

ONE SHILLING (FOREIGN)

LOK SABHA

Thursday, 31st March, 1955

The Lok Sabha met at Eleven of the Clock.

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

पाटिल समिति की सिफारिश

*१७२३. **श्री भक्त दर्शन** : क्या रक्षा मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि सत्तरह छावनियों के असैनिक क्षेत्रों को समीप के स्थानीय निकायों में मिला देने के लिए पाटिल समिति द्वारा की गई सिफारिश के सम्बन्ध में अभी तक क्या प्रगति हुई है?

रक्षा उपमंत्री (सरदार मजीठिया): विभिन्न छावनियों के लिए बनाई गई एक्सीयन कमेटियों की सिफारिशों की जांच करने के बाद और लोकमत को ध्यान में लाते हुए नीचे दिए हुए फैसले किए जा चुके हैं और इनको अमल में लाया जा रहा है :

(१) अहमदाबाद, बेलगाम, देवलाली, फिरोजपुर, किरकी, मेरठ और सागर इन ७ छावनियों की काट छांट नहीं होनी चाहिए।

(२) नैनीताल और लैण्डूर छावनियों को छोड़ देना चाहिए।

(३) झांसी और दिल्ली छावनियों की काट छांट होनी चाहिए। दिल्ली छावनी की काट छांट पूरी हो चुकी है।

आगरा, इलाहाबाद और कानपुर के बारे में एक्सीयन कमेटियों की सिफारिशें उत्तर प्रदेश की राज्य सरकार के विचाराधीन हैं और अहमदनगर और बनारस के बारे में सिफारिशों की केन्द्रीय सरकार जांच कर रही है। पूना छावनी के बारे में उसके नए चुने हुए मेम्बरों के विचारों का इन्तिजार किया जा रहा है।

श्री भक्त दर्शन: माननीय मंत्री जी के उत्तर से स्पष्ट है कि साढ़े तीन वर्ष बीत जाने पर भी अभी तक केवल विचार विमर्श किया जा रहा है, क्या मैं जान सकता हूं कि वह कौन सी अड़चनें हैं जिनकी वजह से इतनी देरी हो रही है?

सरदार मजीठिया : आनरेबुल मेम्बर ने ठीक नहीं समझा। मैंने कहा है कि सात छावनियों के बारे में फैसला हो चुका है, कुल १७ छावनियां थीं, दो छावनियों को छोड़ दिया गया है, इन में कैंटोनमेंट एक्ट लागू नहीं होना चाहिए और नौ छावनियों के बारे में काट छांट पूरी हो चुकी है, इसलिए यह कहना सदस्य महोदय का ठीक नहीं है कि कोई एक्शन नहीं लिया गया, एक्शन लिया गया है, सिर्फ उन छावनियों के सम्बन्ध में जिनके कि बाबत स्टेट गवर्नमेंट से अभी तक जवाब नहीं आया है, और जैसा कि मैंने अभी बताया, दो, तीन छावनियों की बाबत अभी स्टेट गवर्नमेंट विचार कर रही है, अलबत्ता वहां पर अभी तक कुछ नहीं हो सका है।

श्री भक्त दर्शन: चूंकि इन सम्बन्धित छावनियों की जनता कई वर्षों से प्रतीक्षा करती आ रही है, क्या कोई ऐसी निश्चित अवधि रक्खी गई है जिसके कि अन्दर इस बारे में अन्तिम निर्णय कर लिया जाएगा?

सरदार मजीठिया: मैंने तीन, चार छावनियों में खुद जाकर देखा और वहां की राय यह मालूम हुई कि वह एक्सीयन नहीं चाहती हैं।

ANTI-CORRUPTION DEPARTMENT

*1724. **Shri Dabhi:** Will the Minister of **Home Affairs** be pleased to state:

(a) whether a new Anti-Corruption department is being set up by Government with a view to coordinating the various measures for eradicating corruption and for suggesting anti-corruption measures in the Government departments where corruption is likely to exist;

(b) if so, when this department is likely to start functioning; and

(c) the precise functions thereof?

The Deputy Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Datar): (a) Yes, it is proposed to set up an organisation for this purpose.

(b) It is expected to start functioning shortly.

(c) The precise details are being worked out. The lines indicated in part (a) of the question are being borne in mind.

Shri Dabhi: May I know whether it is a fact that Government decided to set up this Anti-Corruption Department in response to certain observations made in the Appleby Report and if so, what is contained in the Report?

Shri Datar: That was one of the factors which induced the Government to take up this question.

Shri Dabhi: May I know whether there is any truth in the newspaper report that Shri Govind Narain, Education and Information Secretary of the U.P. Government, is going to be appointed as the head of this Department?

Shri Datar: The final choice has not yet been made.

Shri M. L. Dwivedi: May I know if any committee has been set up to examine the recommendations of the Appleby Committee Report and to implement them?

Shri Datar: This has nothing to do with the recommendations of the Appleby Committee in general. One of the recommendations is being implemented.

Shri M. L. Dwivedi: So far as the corruption cases are concerned?

Shri Datar: So far as this case is concerned, an officer is being appointed with the necessary staff and he would carry on the work in this respect.

श्री जोकीम आल्वा : क्या सरकार के ध्यान में यह बात आई है कि इस साल पिछले वर्ष से भी ज्यादा करप्शन है ?

Shri Datar: No.

NATIONAL REGISTER OF SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL PERSONNEL

*1725. **Shri Jhulan Sinha:** Will the Minister of **Natural Resources and Scientific Research** be pleased to state the total number of scientists and technologists in employment and the number still unemployed in the country according to the information available from the National Register of Scientific and Technical Personnel?

The Minister of Natural Resources (Shri K. D. Malaviya): Out of 9,261 Scientists and Technologists whose names have been registered so far, 8,446 were employed and 815 unemployed.

Shri Jhulan Sinha: How is it that about 800 scientific persons are still unemployed when so many river valley schemes and other works requiring expert knowledge are going on in the country?

Shri K. D. Malaviya: This is a very difficult question for me to answer.

Mr. Speaker: It has to be put to the Labour Minister.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: In view of the fact that all the time the cry is being raised that there is shortage of technical personnel in the country, what attempts are being made by Government to utilise the services of these technical persons which the hon. Minister just now mentioned?

Shri K. D. Malaviya: As and when the necessity arises for suitable technical personnel, Government do not fail to employ them, but there are many persons who are perhaps not so much wanted and in the priority list they might not be wanted today, but might be employed tomorrow.

Braille Books in Hindi

*1726. **Shri Krishnacharya Joshi:** Will the Minister of **Education** be pleased to state:

(a) whether the Central Braille Printing Press at Dehra Dun has published Braille Books in Hindi; and

(b) if so, the total number of books printed?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Education (Dr. M. M. Das): (a) Yes.

(b) Eight.

Shri Krishnacharya Joshi: May I know whether these Braille books are really published in the regional languages also?

Dr. M. M. Das: Yes, these Braille books are being published in the regional languages also.

Shri Krishnacharya Joshi: May I know the total expenditure incurred in publishing these books?

Dr. M. M. Das: The information as to the total expenditure incurred in publishing these books is not at my disposal at present, but a porvision for a sum of Rs. 70,000 exists in the Budget for the current year for the administration of the whole Press.

Dr. Rama Rao: May I know in what other regional languages the books are being published?

Dr. M. M. Das: *Gujrti Primer* in Gujrati; *Nava-yug-vachan-mala Reader I* in Gujrati; *Marathi Primer* in Marathi and *Telugu Primer* in Telugu.

गृह-मंत्रियों का सम्मेलन

*१७२७. **श्री एम० एल० द्विवेदी:** क्या गृह-कार्य मंत्री १ मार्च, १९५५ को दिए गए तारांकित प्रश्न संख्या २८२ के उत्तर के सम्बन्ध में एक विवरण सभा पटल पर रखने की कृपा करेंगे जिसमें निम्नलिखित बातें दिखाई गई हों:

(क) ६ और ७ जनवरी, १९५५ को दिल्ली में हुए गृहमंत्रियों के सम्मेलन में निम्नलिखित विषयों पर क्या निर्णय हुए:—

(१) अपराधों की जांच करने की वर्तमान व्यवस्था में सुधार,

(२) पुलिस और जनता के बीच के सम्बन्धों को सुधारने की आवश्यकता, और

(३) विभिन्न राज्यों में डाकुओं के बढ़ते हुए उपद्रवों को रोकने के लिए उपाय,

(ख) क्या इस सम्मेलन में पुलिस में भ्रष्टाचार को रोकने के उपायों पर भी विचार किया गया था और यदि हां, तो वे किस प्रकार के हैं, और

(ग) क्या यह सच है कि कई राज्यों में अपराधों की पहली रिपोर्टों को लिखने से इंकार कर दिया जाता है ताकि अपराधों की संख्या में कमी दिखाई जा सके और इस चलन को रोकने के लिए गृहमंत्रियों के सम्मेलन ने किन उपायों के सुझाव दिए?

गृह-कार्य उपमंत्री (श्री दातार): (क) इस विषय पर एक आम वाद-विवाद हुआ था परन्तु कोई निर्णय नहीं किया गया।

(ख) नहीं।

(ग) नहीं।

श्री एम० एल० द्विवेदी: मैं यह जानना चाहता हूं कि इंडियन पीनल कोड को अमैंड करने के लिए कोई तजवीज इस कान्फ्रेंस के सामने आई थी?

श्री दातार: इंडियन पीनल कोड के विषय में कान्फ्रेंस में कोई चर्चा नहीं हुई।

श्री एम० एल० द्विवेदी : मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि क्या इस सम्बन्ध में तमाम राज्यों के होम मिनिस्टर्स की एक कान्फ्रेंस की जाने वाली है जिसमें इस बात पर विचार किया जाएगा, और यदि इसका उत्तर 'हां' में है, तो कब तक यह होगी ?

श्री दातार : केन्द्रीय सरकार इस सम्बन्ध में विचार कर रही है, कान्फ्रेंस की बात अभी सरकार के सामने नहीं है।

Shri Kasliwal: May I know whether, among the measures to check the increasing menace of dacoits in the different States, the question of redemption of these dacoits was also discussed?

Shri Datar: The State Governments are considering this question very seriously and active steps are being taken.

Pandit D. N. Tiwary: Were ways and means discussed and devised to catch big persons who corrupt our officers?

Shri Datar: The hon. Member has put it in very wide terms. The object of this conference was to consider certain questions which arose after the passing of the Criminal Procedure Code (Amendment) Bill, and the object was to see how the police investigation could be improved and how the relations between the police and the public could be improved. That was the main object of the conference.

श्री एम० एल० द्विवेदी : पहली मार्च को पूछे गए तारांकित प्रश्न संख्या २९२ के उत्तर में मंत्री महोदय ने बतलाया था कि देश की क्राइम सिचुएशन पर विचार किया गया था, मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि होम मिनिस्टर्स कान्फ्रेंस ने इस विषय में क्या क्या सिफारिशें कीं और इन पर अमल करने के लिए क्या सरकार सोच रही है ?

श्री दातार : रेकमेंडेशन्स की जरूरत नहीं थी, इसमें तो पूर्ण वादविवाद किया गया और हर एक ने अपना अपना दृष्टिकोण रखा और उन पर परस्पर विचार विमर्श हुआ।

ANTI-CORRUPTION OFFICER

*1729. **Shri Heda:** Will the **Minister of Home Affairs** be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government have decided to appoint an Anti-corruption Officer; and

(b) if so, what would be his relation with the present machinery?

The Deputy Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Datar): (a) and (b). The hon. Member's attention is invited to the answer given by me today to Starred Question No. 1724.

Shri Heda: May I know whether it is a fact that the corruption Officer has been appointed?

Shri Datar: Not a corruption officer, but an Anti-Corruption Officer. That officer is going to be appointed, and Government are considering whether this name is proper.

Shri Heda: As the Anti-Corruption Department has not yet started in that situation, under which Department this officer will work?

Shri Datar: This officer will work under the Home Ministry. Already the Special Police Establishment is working under the Home Ministry, making investigations and also carrying on prosecutions.

Shri Heda: What will be the area which he will cover?

Shri Datar: In terms of personalities, I may say that the area covered would be all government servants under the Central Government.

Pandit D. N. Tiwary: May I know, after the passing of the the Prevention of Corruption Act under which both bribe-giving and bribe-taking are declared criminal offences, how many big persons have been arrested and prosecuted?

Shri Datar: I have not got the break-up so far as these two substantive offences are concerned. But I may inform the hon. Member that big fish also are being taken in.

Ex-I.N.A. PERSONNEL

*1730. **Sardar Hukam Singh:** Will the Minister of **Defence** be pleased to refer to the reply given to starred question No. 550 on the 30th November, 1954 and state:

(a) whether the I.N.A. personnel who belonged to the erstwhile State Forces are treated on par with the Indian Army officers who joined the Indian National Army during the last war; and

(b) if so, the number of Indian State Forces personnel who have been given *de novo* Commissions in the Indian Army?

The Deputy Minister of Defence (Sardar Majithia): (a) All *ex*-State Forces officers who had rendered service under the Crown after the commencement of the war and later joined the I.N.A. are eligible for the grant of Short Service Regular Commissions for 1, 3 or 5 years, and those who held super-imposed Emergency Commissions in the Indian Army are eligible for the grant of Permanent Regular Commissions on the same terms and conditions as are applicable to *ex*-non-regular officers in the Indian Army who joined the I.N.A.

(b) None so far, because the orders have been issued only recently.

Sardar Hukam Singh: May I know whether there is any estimate of the number of personnel under (a)?

Sardar Majithia: No, we have not got any estimate, but those who wish to apply for *de novo* commission can apply and we will consider them.

Sardar Hukam Singh: When was this decision taken?

Sardar Majithia: In January, 1953.

Sardar Hukam Singh: May I know whether any steps have been taken to advertise this decision so that persons who are living in villages may know about it?

Sardar Majithia: That is being done.

Sardar Hukam Singh: Have any applications been submitted so far?

Sardar Majithia: Not as yet.

श्री भक्त दर्शन : क्या मंत्री महोदय सदन के पटल पर यह सूचना रखने की कृपा करेंगे कि भारत के भूतपूर्व देशी राज्यों से कितने अफसरों और सैनिकों ने इस में भाग लिया था?

Mr. Speaker: How many officers of the Indian States were discharged? Will the hon. Minister place a statement on the Table of the House?

Sardar Majithia: It hardly arises from this question which relates to the I.N.A. personnel. If a separate question is tabled, I am prepared to answer it.

Ex-SERVICEMEN'S POST WAR RECONSTRUCTION FUND

*1731. **Shri D. C. Sharma:** Will the Minister of **Defence** be pleased to lay a statement on the Table of the House showing:

(a) the total amount spent by the Government of Punjab out of the *ex*-servicemen's Post War Reconstruction Fund during the financial year 1953-54:

(b) the sums spent under each head; and

(c) the sums sanctioned from the Fund with the names of the schemes during the year 1954-55?

The Deputy Minister of Defence (Sardar Majithia): (a) to (c). A statement is laid on the Table of the House. [*See* Appendix VIII, Annexure No. 50.]

श्री डी० सी० शर्मा : मैं माननीय मंत्री जी की सेवा में यह प्रार्थना करना चाहता हूं कि उन्होंने जो स्टेटमेंट लोक सभा पटल पर रखा है उस में पार्ट 'सी' का कोई जवाब नहीं है।

Sardar Majithia: As I said, Sir, the funds sanctioned are entirely governed by the State Boards. It is contained in the statement. If the hon. Member had only read it and put two and two

together, he would have got the answer.

श्री डी० सी० शर्मा : माननीय मंत्री जी क्या यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि पंजाब में इस संस्था की जो शाखा हैं उससे उनको हर साल रिपोर्ट मिलती हैं या नहीं, और अगर मिलती हैं, तो उस पर यहां पर विचार होता हैं या नहीं ?

सरदार मजीठिया : हां, रिपोर्ट मिलती हैं, हम देखते हैं कि स्टेट बोर्ड कैसे काम करता हैं और उस पर पूरा विचार होता हैं ।

श्री डी० सी० शर्मा : क्या माननीय मंत्री जी यह बतलाने की कृपा करेंगे कि क्या अगले साल के लिए उन्होंने इस फंड के अन्तर्गत किसी नई योजना की बुनियाद डाली हैं, और अगर कोई योजना हैं तो उसका कोआपरेटिव सोसाइटियों के साथ कोई सम्बन्ध हैं ?

सरदार मजीठिया : इसके मुताल्लिक फंड के जो आब्जेक्ट्स रखे गए हैं उन के मुताबिक स्टेट बोर्ड काम करते हैं, और उनको पूरा अधिकार हैं कि इन आब्जेक्ट्स को ध्यान में रखते हुए वह जैसा भी मुनासिब समझें वैसा करें ।

बुनियादी शिक्षा साहित्य

*१७२२. **डा० राम सुभग सिंह :** क्या शिक्षा मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) क्या सरकार ने "प्रौढ़ों के लिए बुनियादी शिक्षा" पर साहित्य प्रकाशित करने के लिए दिल्ली पब्लिक लाइब्रेरी को कोई सहायता दी हैं, और

(ख) यदि हां, तो उसका ब्यौरा क्या हैं ?

शिक्षा मंत्री के सभासचिव (डा० एम० एम० दास) : (क) नहीं ।

(ख) प्रश्न उत्पन्न नहीं होता हैं ।

डा० राम सुभग सिंह : क्या स्वयं इस पुस्तकालय की ओर से वयस्कों के पढ़ने के लिए कोई किताबें प्रकाशित की जाती हैं, और यदि की जाती हैं, तो गवर्नमेंट का उससे क्या सरोकार हैं, क्या वह उसके वितरण का कोई प्रबन्ध करती हैं ?

डा० एम० एम० दास : दिल्ली जनता ग्रन्थालय ने प्रौढ़ों के पढ़ने के लिए अब तक तीन किताबें प्रकाशित की हैं ।

The Delhi Public Library has published three books uptill now for adult social education.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: Do Government given any grant or aid to any public institutions which publish books for adult persons?

Dr. M. M. Das: No; As far as I know, up till now no grant has been given to any public institutions. But I cannot commit myself on this point.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: May I know whether any such book has been printed by any institution which has been aided by Government or whether Government have got any such book printed on their own account?

Dr. M. M. Das: The question is not clear. If the hon. Member wants to know whether Government has published any books through some agency, then, my reply is "Yes". Government have published many of the books through a particular agency.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: May I know the name of the agency and the amount given to that agency as aid or grant?

Dr. M. M. Das: It is Jamia Millia. As regards the amount that has been given to that particular institution, I want notice.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: How are these books distributed?

Mr. Speaker: We shall go to the next question. There are many questions to be put through.

National Board of Audio-Visual Education

*1733. **Shri S. C. Samanta:** Will the Minister of **Education** be pleased to state:

(a) when the National Board of Audio-visual education was set up;

(b) how far it has been successfull in coordinating the work done in this field in the country;

(c) how far the private firms have come forward to produce suitable equipment for audio-visual education in India; and

(d) whether any gifts fron abroad have been received for this purpose during the last three years?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Education (Dr. M. M. Das): (a) to (d). A statement is laid on the Table of the House. [*See* Appendix VIII, annexure No. 51.]

श्री एस० सी० सामन्त : क्या मैं जान सकता हूं कि कोलम्बो प्लान के अनुसार आस्ट्रेलिया गवर्नमेंट ने जो वैन्स हम लोगों को दिए हैं उन की कीमत क्या है और वह कहां इस्तेमाल किए जाते हैं ?

Dr. M. M. Das: They are gifts from the Australian Government. We do not know what was the cost of these two Vans.

श्री एस० सी० सामन्त : विवरण से मालूम होता है कि किसी प्राइवेट फर्म को प्रकाशन के लिए कोई पैसा नहीं दिया गया है, क्या मैं जान सकता हूं कि बजट में इसके लिए कितना पैसा मुकर्रर किया गया था ?

Dr. M. M. Das: Will he please repeat the question?

Shri S. C. Samanta: Was any allotment made in the Budget for giving some amounts to some private firms?

Dr. M. M. Das: No private firm has uptill now come forward to take up the work.

Shri S. C. Samanta: If so, has the recommendation of the Audio-Visual Education Conference to hold training for three months been executed?

Dr. M. M. Das: We have circulated the recommendations of that conference to the State Governments and it is up to the State Governments to take measures for implementing those recommendations.

Foreign Experts

***1734. Shri Raghunath Singh:** will the Minister of **Finance** be pleased to state whether it is a fact that Foreign Operations Administration has assigned recently a U.S. Mechanical Technician to India?

The Minister of Revenue and Defence Expenditure (Shri A. C. Guha): Yes, Sir.

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह : क्या हम जान सकते हैं कि इनकी संख्या क्या है ?

Shri A. C. Guha: There are 21 such technicians of whom seven have already come and five are to come shortly. Nine have not been selected as yet and we are having negotiations to select suitable persons.

Shri Joachim Alva: Before the officers under this programme are sanctioned and pending their arrival in India, does the Home Ministry or the External Affairs Ministry carefully scrutinise their names and see whether they have been associated with the Organisation of Strategic Services?

Shri A. C. Guha: I think Government must have taken adequate care before these persons are brought here.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: In regard to the question of these experts, is it the rule that the Government of India should ask for an expert in a particular subject or do the U.S. Government just give us these experts whether we want them or not?

Shri A. C. Guha: It is just mutual consultation; unless a person is suitable for us we do not take him and we take experts only on such subjects where we need them.

Shri Raghunath Singh: Who bears the expenses?

Shri A. C. Guha: The expenses are borne by the U.S. Government. We bear the expenses with regard to office accommodation, equipment, furnishings and supplies, stenographic and secretariat, assistance, translation and interpreting services and such other office matter.

SHORT SERVICE COMMISSIONS

*1737. **Shri Ibrahim:** Will the Minister of **Defence** be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that a number of civilian technical **graduates** were granted Short Service Commissions during 1954; and

(b) if so, their number?

The Deputy Minister of Defence (Sardar Majithia): (a) Yes, in the Army and the Air Force.

(b) 29 in the Army and eight in the Air Force.

केन्द्रीय सरकार के कर्मचारियों को हिन्दी का पढ़ाया जाना

*१७२८. **सेठ गोविन्द दास:** क्या शिक्षा मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि केन्द्रीय सरकार द्वारा आरम्भ किए गए हिन्दी शिक्षा केंद्रों में केन्द्रीय सरकार के कितने कर्मचारियों ने हिन्दी सीख ली हैं?

शिक्षा मंत्री के सभासचिव (डा० एम० एम० दास): जहां तक शिक्षा मंत्रालय द्वारा दिल्ली में चलाए गए हिन्दी शिक्षा केन्द्रों का ताल्लुक है नवम्बर, १९५४ तक उन केन्द्रों में ७१९ केन्द्रीय सरकार कर्मचारी हिन्दी सीख चुके थे और आजकल लगभग ६५० सीख रहे हैं। उन केन्द्रों के बारे में जो दूसरे मंत्रालयों ने चलाए हों, हमारे पास इस समय जानकारी नहीं है।

सेठ गोविन्द दास: यह केन्द्र किस तारीख से शुरू हुए थे और यहां पर विद्यार्थियों की संख्या बढ़ती जा रही है और क्या विद्यार्थियों की संख्या बढ़ने के साथ साथ केंद्रों की संख्या भी बढ़ी है या यह उतनी ही है जितनी कि शुरू में थी?

डा० एम० एम० दास: यह केन्द्र १९५२ में शुरू हुए थे और इनकी संख्या बढ़ती जाती है।

सेठ गोविन्द दास: १९५२ में जब इस काम को शुरू किया गया था उस समय यह केन्द्र कितने थे, १९५३ में कितने रहे और १९५४ में कितने हुए?

डा० एम० एम० दास: १९५२-५३ की ठीक संख्या हमारे पास नहीं है। कितना रुपया इन पर खर्च किया जा रहा था यह हम दे सकते हैं...

Mr. Speaker: Let him reply to the question, The hon. Member does not want the amount; he wants to know the number of Centres.

सेठ गोविन्द दास: यदि इनकी संख्या नहीं दी जा सकती है तो कितना रुपया खर्च हुआ, यह भी मैं पूछना चाहूंगा।

डा० एम० एम० दास: १९५२-५३ में २,९०० रुपए, १९५३-५४ में १४,००० रुपए और १९५४-५५ में २१,००० रुपए।

HISTORY OF WAR OF INDIAN INDEPENDENCE OF 1857

*1742. **Shri Wodeyar:** Will the Minister of **Education** be pleased to refer to the reply given to starred question No. 195 on the 24th February 1955, and state:

(a) the date on which the new and objective history of the War of Indian Independence of 1857 will be published; and

(b) the total expenditure set apart for this publication?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Education (Dr. M. M Das): (a) 10th May, 1957.

(b) The estimated expenditure is Rs. 35,000/-, exclusive of the cost of printing.

Shri Wodeyar: May I know whether it will be in the regional languages?

Dr. M. M. Das: The scheme which is before the Government now is to publish it in English language. After it is published in English, we will consider whether it should be published in other regional languages or not.

ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENTS

*1744. **Shrimati Ganga Devi:** Will the Minister of **Home Affairs** be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that Government have been considering, for sometime past, the desirability of bringing into the Regular Temporary Establishment of Assistant Superintendents an adequate number of members of the Scheduled Castes, who are at present working as permanent Assistant in the Central Secretariat; and

(b) if so, when Government expect to finalise the proposed arrangements?

The Deputy Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Datar): Yes. It is proposed to appoint five Scheduled Caste Assistants to the Regular Temporary Establishment of Assistant Superintendents each year for a period of four years on the result of the Limited Competitive Test to be held by the Union Public Service Commission for selection of Assistants for promotion to Grade III. The first such test is scheduled to be held in May, 1955.

श्रीमती गंगा देवी: रेगुलर टेम्पोरेरी एस्टैब्लिशमेंट आफ असिस्टेंट सुपरिंटेंडेंट्स पहले से ही इस पोस्ट पर काम कर रहे हैं तो फिर ऐसे टेस्ट की क्या जरूरत है ?

Shri Datar: At present there are House that in view of the increased intake of the Scheduled Caste members and others it has been decided to have this examination so that those who are competent can have a good chance.

श्रीमती गंगा देवी : क्या मैं जान सकती हूं कि कितने शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट सुपरिंटेंडेंट्स हैं ?

Shri Datar: At present there are four Assistant Superintendents.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: May I know how many Assistant Superintendents will be taken in as a result of this test and whether out of the total, five will be reserved for the Scheduled Castes, or will they come just in the order of preference?

Shri Datar: So far as taking people into the R.T.E. is concerned, twenty will be taken in every year and five would be taken from the Scheduled Castes for four years.

Shri Velayudhan: May I know whether this examination is competitive or for qualification and, if it is a competitive examination, will not the Scheduled Castes be eliminated from getting this quota?

Shri Datar: I may point out to the hon. Member that those who pass the examination, especially from the Scheduled Castes, will all be taken, within this number.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: In view of the fact that a large number of candidates will be people of 15-20 years of experience, will it not be rather unfair to them to go in for an examination with younger people, and will they be given greater credit for the experience which they have gained during those years?

Shri Datar: In the interest of efficiency, it is considered that they should go through such an examination.

INCOME-TAX INVESTIGATION COMMISSION

*1745. **Pandit D. N. Tiwary:** Will the Minister of **Finance** be pleased to state:

(a) the number of cases disposed of departmentally out of the undisposed of cases since the winding up of the Income-Tax Investigation Commission; and

(b) the amount of tax assessed and realised?

The Minister of Revenue and Civil Expenditure (Shri M. C. Shah): (a) Nil. (The order dated the 2nd December, 1953, extending the term of appointment of the Commission upto the

31st of December, 1955, has not yet been amended or modified).

(b) *Nil.*

Pandit D. N. Tiwary: May I know the number of cases that are still undisposed of?

Shri M. C. Shah: Still undisposed of by the Income-tax Investigation Commission? The number of cases affected after the judgement of the Supreme Court was 819.

Pandit D. N. Tiwary: What is the amount involved in these 819 cases that are undisposed of?

Shri M. C. Shah: The position is that under section 5(4), all the cases were to be taken afresh and for those cases disposed of by the Commission, the amount comes to about Rs. 20 crores. Under section 5(4), all the cases have to be taken afresh. Under section 5(1), the number of cases is 23 and the amount would be about Rs. 581 lakhs. Under section 5(1), those cases which were decided prior to July 1954—the date of promulgation of the Ordinance—are not to be taken up again but the cases that remain undisposed of will have to be taken up. About the sum, I have not got an estimate figure.

Shri Morarka: May I know whether after the Supreme Court judgement any compromise was effected and there has been revocation of some of the cases, and if so, how many such cases there are?

Shri M. C. Shah: I cannot give the figures about revocation, because under section 5(4) they have already given notices in almost all the cases. Under section 5(1) also, proceedings have been taken in 265 cases. Under section 5(4) we have taken proceedings in 291 cases, and there are certain cases still remaining for the consideration of the Central Board of Revenue. As the House knows, there are certain conditions to be fulfilled before a notice can be issued under section 34 (1) (a).

Shri N. B. Chowdhury: May I know the number of cases of Income-tax evasion which have been taken cognizance of by the Income-tax authorities after the Income-tax Investigation Commission was wound up, particularly cases relating to the period which was under the consideration of the Commission?

Shri M. C. Shah: I have already replied that the Income-tax Investigation Commission has not been wound up by law. As I have already said, there were 819 cases which were affected by the judgment of the Supreme Court and in 484 cases notices have already been initiated. About the others investigation is going on, and notices will be issued in 263 cases very soon.

Gun Licences

***1747. Shri Dasaratha Deb:** Will the Minister of Home Affairs be pleased to state:

(a) the number of guns which have been surrendered by the tribal people of Tripura to Government for the renewal of licences so far during 1955; and

(b) the number of cases in which such licences have been renewed?

The Deputy Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Datar): (a) and (b). The required information has been called for from the State Government and will be laid on the Table of the House when received.

Shri Dasaratha Deb: May I know whether it is a fact that a large number of guns requisitioned by the Government of Tripura have now gone out of order because they were kept under police custody for the last eight years?

Shri Datar: I cannot answer this question in the absence of the information.

Shri Dasaratha Deb: Do the Government propose to return all the guns to the real owners immediately?

Shri Datar: After the information is received, Government will consider the matter.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: In view of the fact that there is inordinate delay and harassment and illegal gratification to be paid even for renewal in other States also, may I know what steps are proposed to be taken by the Government to liberalise the procedure of renewal?

Shri Datar: I am not prepared to accept the premises of the hon. Member. But I am prepared to assure the House that we are considering this question in relation to the proposed amendment of the Arms Act and Arms Rules.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: When it is being brought.....

Mr. Speaker: We will go to the next question.

GEOLOGICAL SURVEY AT BELPAHARI (MIDNAPORE)

*1748. **Shri Subodh Hasda:** Will the Minister of **Natural Resources and Scientific Research** be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government are aware that a geological survey for valuable minerals was undertaken at Belpahari in the Midnapore District, West Bengal; and

(b) if so, the ultimate result of this survey?

The Minister of Natural Resources (Shri K. D. Malaviya): (a) and (b). A statement giving the required information is laid on the Table of the House. [*See* Appendix VIII, annexure No. 52.]

Shri Subodh Hasda: May I know whether such a survey was undertaken to detect the occurrence of petroleum and tungsten there?

Shri K. D. Malaviya: I require notice;. I am not aware.

Shri Subodh Hasda: May I know in how many places a geological survey was conducted last year, and what are the new finds during the period?

Mr. Speaker: I am afraid the question is too wide. The original question relates only to Belpahari in Midnapore District, and I shall have to be more strict about supplementaries. I find that many supplementaries are being put which are outside the scope of questions.

Shri N. B. Chowdhuri: May I know the name of the agency that is conducting the survey and the mineral or other things for which the survey is being conducted?

Shri K. D. Malaviya: If the hon. Member is talking generally I will answer generally that the Geological Survey of India is conducting it.

Mr. Speaker: About this particular one he is asking.

Shri K. D. Malaviya: The Director, Geological Survey of India, is getting this survey conducted under his own Department.

Shri B. K. Das: May I know what was the duration of the survey undertaken and whether it is still continuing?

Shri K. D. Malaviya: It was conducted during 1950-51 in the area under reference.

ORPHANS

*1749. **Dr. Rama Rao:** Will the Minister of **Education** be pleased to refer to the reply given to starred question No. 732 on the 11th March, 1955 and state:

(a) the total estimated number of orphans in the country requiring care and assistance; and

(b) the number of orphanages run by the Central and State Governments separately?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Education (Dr. M. M. Das): This is primarily the concern of the State Governments. Information is, however, being collected from Parts 'C' and 'D' States and will be laid on the Table of the House as soon as available.

श्री एम० एल० द्विवेदी: मैंने आरफन्स के सम्बन्ध में एक बिल इस सदन के सामने रखा था और सदन ने आम तौर से उसे स्वीकार किया था, लेकिन सरकार ने यह वादा किया था कि वह शीघ्र ही एक ऐसा बिल सरकारी तौर पर रखेगी। इसको लगभग साल भर से ज्यादा हो गया है। मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि यह बिल अब तक सदन के सामने क्यों नहीं आया है, और कब तक आवेगा?

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. I disallow it.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: In the enquiry from the State Governments may I know whether information as to how many of these orphanages are for girls and how many are for boys, is also being collected separately?

Dr. M. M. Das: I want notice for that; I have no information.

Dr. Rama Rao: Does the reply mean that the Central Social Welfare Board has not got even a single orphanage under its own?

Dr. M. M. Das: So far as the Central Social Welfare Board is concerned, they have given grants to voluntary social welfare organisations which include institutions that look after orphans also. I can give the amounts and the number of institutions that have been given grants by the Board.

ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENTS

*1750. **Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani:** Will the Minister of Home Affairs be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that at a recent examination conducted by the Union Public Service Commission for appointment to the grade of Assistant Superintendents, only those permanent Assistants whose seniority counted from a date earlier than the 1st January, 1951 were declared eligible for applying for admission;

(b) whether it is also a fact that later on, even the temporary Assistants who were likely to be confirmed with effect from the 1st January, 1954 were also allowed to appear but the Assistants confirmed between the dates 1st January, 1951 and 1st January, 1954 were not allowed to do so; and

(c) if the answer to parts (a) and (b) above be in the affirmative, the reasons for this discrimination?

The Deputy Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Datar): (a) Yes.

(b) This is not correct. All Assistants confirmed as such with effect from the 1st January, 1954, or earlier have been allowed to appear at the Examination, provided they count their seniority from a date not later than the 1st January, 1951.

(c) Does not arise.

Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani: Is it a fact that according to the rules governing the examination, temporary Assistants could not be admitted to the examination and even now the rules have not been changed, and therefore the whole procedure is irregular?

Shri Datar: The procedure is not irregular at all. On the other hand more persons are getting a chance to appear at the examination, because the number of confirmations has risen from 1,800 to about 2,500.

Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani: My question was whether under your rules temporary Assistants are allowed to appear for the examination?

Shri Datar: I am afraid not, subject to correction.

Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani: If it is so, are you contemplating to change the rules in order to do justice to

those who have been denied the opportunity?

Shri Datar: *Government are not at present considering the question. But here there is a class of persons known as "regular temporary establishment". There we have a certain seniority. That means a certain class of temporary government servants are entitled to appear.

प्रारम्भिक और बुनियादी स्कूल

*१७५९. **श्री अनिरुद्ध सिंह:** क्या शिक्षा मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना के अन्तर्गत ३१ दिसम्बर, १९५४ तक कितने प्रारम्भिक और बुनियादी स्कूल खोले गए और उनमें कितने विद्यार्थी पढ़ रहे हैं?

शिक्षा मंत्री के सभासचिव (डा० एम० एम० दास): इस विषय का मुख्य रूप से राज्य सरकारों से ताल्लुक है।

श्री अनिरुद्ध सिंह: क्या मैं जान सकता हूं कि इस देश से जो शिक्षा विशेषज्ञों का दल ग्रामीण शिक्षा और प्रौढ़ शिक्षा पद्धति का अध्ययन करने के लिए डेनमार्क भेजा गया था, उसने कोई रिपोर्ट दी है? यदि हां, तो किस रूप में और किस हद तक उसको ग्रामीण शिक्षा पद्धति में लागू करने की योजना है?

डा० एम० एम० दास: यह प्रश्न प्राथमिक और बुनियादी शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में है। जो टीम डेनमार्क गई थी उसका इस प्रश्न से कोई संबंध नहीं है।

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: The hon. Parliamentary Secretary says that it concerns the State Governments. May I know, in view of the fact that in the Five Year Plan a target has been fixed for basic and primary schools, whether Government has got any information as to how many such schools have been opened in the country and as to the percentage of the target that has been reached?

Dr. M. M. Das: It is not the Central Government's responsibility. Even the Planning Commission has pointed out that so far as primary education is concerned, the responsibility lies upon the State Government. These questions may be put to the State Governments concerned.

Mr. Speaker: Next question.

Joint Cipher Bureau

*1752. **Shri R. D. Misra:** Will the Minister of Defence be pleased to state:

(a) whether the process of switching over from English to Hindi has been started in respect of Ciphers in the Joint Cipher Bureau;

(b) if so, the progress that has so far been made in the Hindi compilation work; and

(c) if not, when Government propose to take it in hand?

The Deputy Minister of Defence (Shri Satish Chandra): (a) to (c). The Joint Cipher Bureau is responsible only for the production of ciphers as and when the Defence Services and other users of chiphers require them. There has been no demand yet on the Joint Cipher Bureau for the production of Hindi ciphers. Even so, some preliminary work has been done so that by the time Hindi ciphers are required, the Joint Cipher Bureau may be in a position to produce ciphers in Hindi.

Shri R. D. Misra: Is the Government aware that since our cipher system is based on the English system, it is easily decipherable in other countries which is injurious to our country?

---

*The answer was later corrected by Shri Datar *vide* Part II of Debates, dated the 7th May 1955 as follows:—

"The correct position is that such of the persons of the Regular Temporary Establishment of Assistants who are confirmed in Grade IV of the Central Secretariat Service with effect from the 1st January, 1954 and have seniority in the grade of Assistant or in equivalent grades from a date earlier than the 1st January, 1951, are eligible to sit for the ensuing Limited Competitive Examination for promotion to the Regular Temporary Establishment of Assistant Superintendents. The condition of being permanent in Grade IV has, however, been waived in the cases of permanent displaced Government servants and members of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes."

Shri Satish Chandra: There have been some instances when the ciphers have been deciphered by other countries.

Shri R. D. Misra: If we start our Hindi system as soon as possible, will it not be in the interests of our country?

Shri Satish Chandra: The Hindi system can only be introduced when all those using the cipher are well conversant with the language and the technical vocabulary has been evolved and finally settled.

JUNIOR COMMISSIONED OFFICERS

*1754. **Shri Ram Dass:** Will the Minister of **Defence** be pleased to state:

(a) whether the Junior Commissioned Officers in all arms and services, who were recruited in the last world war, have been declared regular or permanent; and

(b) if not, the reasons therefor?

The Deputy Minister of Defence (Sardar Majithia): (a) no.

(b) Their original term of service was for the duration of the war and 12 months thereafter and since then they have been retained beyond that period, with their consent, for as long as their services may be required.

श्री राम दास : क्या मैं जान सकता हूं कि जे० सी० ओज इन ए० ओ० सी० ग्रुप "बी" में से किसी को भी रंगुलर नहीं बनाया गया है ?

Sardar Majithia: I have already stated that their services were for the duration of the war and 12 months thereafter. After that, they were retained with their consent on the same basis on which they were originally enrolled.

श्री राम दास : क्या मैं यह समझूं कि उन्होंने यह रजामंदी जाहिर की है कि उनको रंगुलर न बनाया जाए ?

Sardar Majithia: They were offered these terms and told that we are prepared to keep them on the same conditions. They accepted. The alternative was to go out.

श्री राम दास : क्या मैं जान सकता हूं कि कोई ऐसा सर्कुलर जारी किया गया है कि इर्रंगुलर्स को रंगुलर बनाया जाए ?

Sardar Majithia: No such circular has been issued. But the question is under the consideration of the Ministry at the moment.

सरदार ए० एस० सहगल : क्या मैं जान सकता हूं कि जो जूनियर कमिशंड आफिसर्स काम कर रहे थे, वह आज तक कितने रंगुलर लाइन में लाए गए हैं ?

Sardar Majithia: They have not been regulars. But, I can say, if the hon. Member wants the number, there were 11000 and odd J.C.O.s altogether which number consists both of regulars and non-regulars.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: In view of the fact that they have been in continuous service, serving the country for 14 or 15 years, do the Government propose to allow them to draw the benefits of permanent service?

Sardar Majithia: That is being considered.

Mr. Speaker: Dr. Satyawadi.

डा० सत्यवादी : मेरे इस प्रश्न संख्या १७५५ के साथ मेरा दूसरा प्रश्न संख्या १७७० जो कि इसी विषय पर है, इसके साथ में ले लिया जाए।

Mr. Speaker: Will that be convenient?

The Minister of Natural Resources (Shri K. D. Malaviya): Yes, Sir.

Mr. Speaker: They will be taken together.

MINERAL RESOURCES IN HIMACHAL PRADESH

*1755. **Dr. Satyawadi:** Will the Minister of **Natural Resources and Scientific Research** be pleased to refer to the reply given to starred question No. 240 on the 22nd November, 1954 and state:

(a) the result of the survey of mineral resources undertaken in Himachal Pradesh; and

(b) the steps taken so far to exploit these resources?

The Minister of Natural Resources (Shri K. D. Malaviya): (a) A statement giving the required information is placed on the Table of the House. [*See* Appendix VIII, tnnexure No. 53].

(b) Exploitation of minerals is the responsibility of State Governments.

हिमाचल प्रदेश में सोना

*१७७०. **डा० सत्यवादी:** क्या प्राकृतिक संसाधन और वैज्ञानिक गवेषणा मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि:

(क) क्या यह सच है कि रोहड़ तहसील, हिमाचल प्रदेश, के बड़शाल गांव के निकट सोना मिली हुई मिट्टी पाई गई है ,

(ख) यदि हां, तो क्या इस सम्बन्ध में कोई जांच पड़ताल की गई है, और

(ग) इस जांच पड़ताल का क्या परिणाम निकला ?

प्राकृतिक संसाधन मंत्री (श्री के० डी० मालवीय): (क) से (ग). जी, नहीं ।

श्री भक्त दर्शन: क्या मैं जान सकता हूं कि हिमाचल प्रदेश की सरकार ने इन धातुओं के बारे में कोई योजना पेश की है या कोई सहायता की मांग की है ?

श्री के० डी० मालवीय: हिमाचल प्रदेश से तो पूछा गया था। हमारी पिछली कान्फ्रेंस में वहां से कोई सुझाव नहीं आया लेकिन हमने बिना उनके सुझाव के ही वहां खोज बीन का कार्यक्रम अपने बड़े कार्यक्रम में शामिल कर लिया है। मैं माननीय सदस्यों की सूचना के लिए बताना चाहता हूं कि इन तमाम हिस्सों में (हिमालयन रीजन क्षेत्र में) बहुत से ऐसे मिनरल्स जरूर पाए जाते हैं (कम या बेशी तादाद में) जिनकी तफसीली खोज की जा सकती है, लेकिन प्राथमिक अन्वेषण में ऐसे कोई प्रमाण नहीं हैं कि कम्युनिकेशन के बिना डेवलप हुए ही उन की खोज करने का कार्यक्रम निश्चय किया जाए। इसलिए कार्यक्रम की प्रायरिटी में उनको बहुत ऊपर नहीं रखा गया है।

State Social Welfare Advisory Board Himachal Pradesh

*1757. **Shri Gopi Ram:** Will the Minister of **Education** be pleased to state the expenditure incurred by the State Social Welfare Advisory Board, Himachal Pradesh, by way of T.A. and salaries etc., and the result achieved so far in respect of the welfare activities?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Education (Dr. M. M. Das): The information will be available after the close of the financial year. The State Board has launched all the five welfare extension projects allotted to the State.

Shri Gopi Ram: May I know, Sir, whether it is a fact that all the members of the Himachal Pradesh Social Welfare Board have been selected from the urban areas, and if so, the reason therefor?

Dr. M. M. Das: We are not aware of the fact that all the members are from the urban areas.

Shri Gopi Ram: It it a fact that the Chairman of the Himachal Pradesh Social Welfare Board has no previous experience of social welfare work and have the Government received any representation of protest against the Chairman?.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order; such personal question will not be permitted. Next question.

The Prevention of Corruption Act

*1758. **Shri Raghubir Sahai:** Will the Minister of **Home Affairs** be pleased to lay on the Table of the House a statement showing:

(a) the number of prosecutions launched under the Prevention of Corruption Act, 1947 after the amendment of the Act in 1952 (State-wise and year-wise); and

(b) the results achieved in this connection?

The Deputy Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Datar): (a) and (b). A statement in respect of Central Government servants is laid on the Table of the House. [*See* Appendix VIII, annexure No. 54.]

Shri Raghubir Sahai: From the statement I find that for a certain year—the year is not mentioned; I presume it is 1953—22 prosecutions were launched in Delhi State out of which 19 were acquitted and only 2 were convicted. May I know if this means that the corruption here is on the decline, or is it due to difficulty in securing conviction?

Shri Datar: Government are enquiring as to why there were such a large number of acquittals. The inference that the hon. Member is drawing is not correct.

Shri Raghubir Sahai: May I know if the Government have explored the possibility of dealing with these cases departmentally and if so, have they met with any success?

Shri Datar: I may point out to the hon. Member that whenever it is found after investigation that a conviction is sustainable, the matter is taken to the court. Otherwise, departmental proceedings are taken, and due punishments given in proper cases.

Shri Raghubir Sahai: May I also know whether all these cases which are given in this statement relate to cases of corruption in which money passed from one hand to other or they relate also to other cases in which different forms of corruption have taken place?

Shri Datar: I cannot give the details. They were specific cases under the Prevention of Corruption Act.

Shri Dabhi: May I know whether any departmental action was taken against those who were acquitted on technical grounds?

Shri Datar: That is a matter which Government are considering as to whether there is a technical acquittal without going into the merits of the case, they will proceed departmentally.

Sardar Hukam Singh: May I know whether in any such case, there were any accused who were found to be in possession of property much beyond their normal means?

Shri Datar: When that is found, immediately, notices are issued, enquiries are made and we ask them to account for this additional wealth.

Sardar Hukam Singh: I want to know whether in these cases there were any instances where the officers proceeded against were in possession of properties much beyond their means?

Shri Datar: There are likely to be some cases because in certain of these cases heavy fines were inflicted.

अल्पकालिक भर्ती (इनरोलमेंट)

*१७५६. **श्री भक्त दर्शन:** क्या रक्षा मंत्री २२ सितम्बर, १९५४ को दिए गए तारांकित प्रश्न संख्या १२९६ के उत्तर के सम्बन्ध में यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि "अल्पकालिक भर्ती (इनरोलमेंट)" के अधीन काम करने वाले कितने पदाधिकारियों तथा सैनिकों को सेना से अलग किया गया?

रक्षा उपमंत्री (सरदार मजीठिया): १ सितम्बर, १९४७, से ३१ दिसम्बर, १९५४, तक ५२६ अलग हुए अफसरों को शार्ट-सर्विस कमीशनें दी गईं और ४५,९४१ अलग हुए अन्य श्रेणी सैनिकों को शार्ट-टर्म इनरोलमेंट पर दुबारा नियुक्त किया गया।

श्री भक्त दर्शन: क्या इस सुझाव पर विचार किया गया है कि इन शार्ट-टर्म एनरोलमेंट वालों को, जिनको नौकरी से निकाला जा रहा है, इतने वर्षों तक काम कर चुके होने के कारण क्यों न स्थाई कर दिया जाए?

सरदार मजीठिया: इनको पहली मर्तबा एक या डेढ़ साल के लिए एनरोल किया गया था मगर चूंकि उनकी सर्विसेज की जरूरत अभी तक थी इसलिए उनको रखा गया। अब उनको आर्डर्स मिल गए हैं कि उनको रिलीज कर दिया जाए और १ अप्रैल, १९५६ से सब रिलीज हो जाएंगे।

श्री भक्त दर्शन: क्या मैं जान सकता हूं कि जिन अफसरों और सैनिकों को इस प्रकार नौकरियों से हटाया जा रहा है उनको गुंचुइटी

या दूसरी विशेष सुविधाएं देने का प्रबंध किया जा रहा है?

सरदार मजीठिया: यह जो लोग हैं वह अक्सर एक्स आर्मी पर्सोनेल हैं। पहली सर्विस के मुताल्लक जो कुछ उनका बकाया था वह उन को मिल चुका है, जहां तक शार्ट-टर्म एनरोलमेंट वालों का सवाल है, यह देखने की बात है कि वह उस में आते हैं या नहीं।

श्री भक्त दर्शन: क्या इस बात का भी प्रयत्न किया जा रहा है कि इन लोगों को दूसरे महकमों में नौकरी दिलाई जाए?

सरदार मजीठिया: खास तौर से आर्मी के लिए नहीं, मगर यह जनरल क्वेश्चन है कि जितने एक्स सर्विसमेन हैं जिन्होंने कि अपने आप को एम्प्लायमेंट एक्स्चेंज में रजिस्टर कराया हुआ है, उनको नौकरी दिलाने का प्रबन्ध किया जाए।

Central Social Welfare Board

*1760. **Shri Dabhi:** Will the Minister of **Education** be pleased to state what progress the programme formulated by the Central Social Welfare **Board**, in last November has made so far?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Education (Dr. M. M. Das): Under the new programme the **Board** has sanctioned grants to 694 institutions. The Board has also set up two advisory Committees—one on Aftercare services and the other on Social and Moral Hygiene—to advise it on the steps to be taken to implement the programme.

Shri Dabhi: May I know whether any conditions are attached to the giving of grants to the social welfare institutions, and if so, what they are?

Dr. M. M. Das: Most of these grants are given on a matching basis, *i.e.*, 50 per cent will be given by the Central Social Welfare Board, and 50 per cent will have to be collected from other sources. That is one. The second is that the people who are serving in these welfare projects should be trained as far as possible.

Shri Dabhi: In which States is this programme being worked out very satisfactorily?

Dr. M. M. Das: I do not know what particular programme the hon. Member means.

Shri Dabhi: About this programme which has been adopted by the Central Social Welfare Board.

Dr. M. M. Das: If he refers to the new programme...

Shri Dabhi: Yes.

Dr. M. M. Das: I should say that this programme has been taken up only in November last, and we are trying to implement it. Two orphanages have been established in pursuance of this new scheme of the Board.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: In view of the fact that Rs. 5 crores have been allotted under the Plan for this Board, may I know whether Government which is making the 50 per cent grant to the Board has any means of checking up the work or performance of the various bodies to which this money is given?

Dr. M. M. Das: First of all the total amount that has been earmarked is not Rs. 5 crores, but only Rs. 4 crores. Secondly the Board has got inspecting staff who go to the places, visit them and check the accounts, etc.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: I regret my hon. friend the Parliamentary Secretary makes it Rs. 4 crores. Only last week a report has been circulated to us on the Central Social Welfare Board, where it is given as Rs. 5 crores. However, may I know whether the Government of India who have given so such money to these various bodies in the country have any means of pursuing the point whether the money is properly spent or they depend only on the reports sent by the State Boards?

Dr. M. M. Das: I have already said that the Board has appointed inspectors who go to the places where these schemes are executed. They examine the accounts and see for themselves

what is being done actually in the field.

EX-SERVICEMEN IN PUNJAB

*1761. **Shri D. C. Sharma:** Will the Minister of Defence be pleased to state:

(a) the total number of *ex*-servicemen in the Punjab State;

(b) how many *ex*-servicemen have been provided with employment in that State in the years 1953 and 1954; and

(c) whether any preference is being given to them in the matter of appointments?

The Deputy Minister of Defence (Sardar Majithia): (a) Approximately 2,37,000.

(b) 1,173 *ex*-servicemen were provided with employment through Employment Exchanges during 1953, and 1,987 during 1954. This, of course, does not take into account the ex-servicemen who got employment direct by their own efforts.

(c) Yes. Perference is being given to *ex*-servicemen in filling up appointments in Police, Excise, Forest, Watch and Ward, Customs and other departments for which military training is a special qualification.

Shri D. C. Sharma: Is it not a fact that the *ex*-servicemen have been wanting to have a separate employment exchange under the Defence Ministry for their recruitment to the various services, and for looking after their employment after their retirement?

Sardar Majithia: We have got directorate under the Defence Ministry which looks after that, but as I said earlier, after they leave the service, it is these employment exchanges which look after their interests.

Shri D. C. Sharma: Is it not a fact that the facilities available for their technical and vocational training are not adequate, and has not a representation been made with regard to that to the Defence Ministry?

Sardar Majithia: No representation from the *ex*-servicemen has been received by the Defence Ministry, and therefore it is considered that the arrangements so far made are quite adequate for their technical education.

Pandit D. N. Tiwary: How many of these *ex*-servicemen have been settled on land, or have been granted land by Government?

Sardar Majithia: I shall require notice for that question, because it does not arise out of this.

CULTURAL SCHOLARSHIPS

*1762. **Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:** Will the Minister of Education be pleased to lay a statement on the Table showing the names of the institutions where persons holding Cultural Scholarships are receiving training in various cultural fields at present under the Cultural Scholarships Scheme of Government?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Education (Dr. M. M. Das): The required statement has been placed on the Table of the Sabha. [*See* Appendix VIII, annexure No. 55].

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: In these ten institutions whose names have been mentioned in the statement, may I know the number of persons who are getting the cultural scholarships of the Government of India? May I also know whether the value of each scholarship is the same in all these ten institutions?

Dr. M. M. Das: The value of the scholarships is the same in all cases. But if the hon. Member wants to know what particular institution or supervisor has been approved for each scholar that will take a long time. There are 49 scholars that have been selected for these scholarships, and I shall have to read out 49 names and give the places where they are or will shortly be taking their training.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: What was the total value of scholarships during the year 1954?

Dr. M. M. Das: That information is not at my disposal.

संस्थाओं को अनुदान

*१७६२. श्री रघुनाथ सिंह: क्या शिक्षा मंत्री कृपा बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि १९५४-५५ में ऐसी कौन कौन सी शैक्षणिक तथा सांस्कृतिक संस्थाओं को, जो धार्मिक संस्थाओं से सम्बन्धित हैं या जिनके नाम धार्मिक व्यक्तियों के ऊपर रखे गए हैं, सरकार द्वारा कितनी राशि के आवर्तक तथा अनावर्तक अनुदान दिए गए हैं?

शिक्षा मंत्री के सभासचिव (डा० एम० एम० दास): यह सूचना इकट्ठी की जा रही है और बाद में सदन के सामने रख दी जाएगी।

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह: मैं यह जानना चाहता हूं कि उर्दू साहित्य के सम्बन्ध में ऐसी कौन कौन सी संस्थाएं हैं जिन्हें सहायता दी गई है?

डा० एम० एम० दास: इस सवाल के बारे में अभी मेरे पास कोई सूचना नहीं है।

Welfare of Scheduled Castes

***1764. Shri Ibrahim:** Will the Minister of **Home Affairs** be pleased to lay a statement on the Table of the House showing the amount spent on the various schemes implemented so far under the Five Year Plan for the betterment of Scheduled Castes in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar by the Central and the State Governments (item-wise)?

The Deputy Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Datar): Information is being collected and will be laid on the Table of the House.

I might inform the hon. Member that so far as the year 1953-54 was concerned, Government made a grant of Rs. 2,20,000 to the U.P. Government, and Rs. 1,30,000 to the Bihar Government. For 1954-55, the figures were Rs. 4,90,000 and Rs. 2,78,000, respectively.

Government Servants

***1765. Shri Chaudhri Muhammed Shaffee:** Will the Minister of **Home Affairs** be pleased to state:

(a) the names of the social and cultural organisations, if any, with which the Government servants are prohibited from associating;

(b) the number of the persons against whom complaints were received for violation of these instructions during 1954; and

(c) the action taken on these complaints?

The Deputy Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Datar): (a) No orders regarding any such associations have issued.

(b) and (c). Do not arise.

Migration of an *ex*-Army General to Pakistan

***1766. Shri Gidwani:** Will the Minister of **Defence** be pleased to state:

(a) whether a Major-General recently employed in the Army Headquarters as Director-General, Supply and Transport has commuted his pension on retirement and drawn the whole amount on the plea that it was wanted for educating his son in London;

(b) whether the said officer has gone away to Pakistan *via* London; and

(c) whether the migration to Pakistan of such officers in know of military secrets is not dangerous for the security of India?

The Minister of Defence (Dr. Katju): (a) The Officer commuted half of his pension. The reason for this is not known.

(b) Yes.

(c) This would depend on the nature of the individual case and other circumstances. Normally, no retired officer should accept appointment in another country without the permission of the Government of India. This matter is being further enquired into.

Shri Gidwani: Has he taken permission from Government before he joined Pakistan service?

Dr. Katju: He did not obtain any such permission.

Shri Gidwani: What was the amount drawn by him before he left for Pakistan?

Dr. Katju: He applied for commutation in November 1953, and the commuted value is just about a lakh of rupees.

Shri Gidwani: May I know whether any amount is being paid to him now, or any part of pension is being paid to him?

Dr. Katju: He has not received any pension, or not drawn it from August, 1954.

Shri Gidwani: When will the question be decided finally?

Dr. Katju: At a very early date.

WRITTEN ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

Overseas Scholarships

*1728. **Shri Radha Raman:** Will the Minister of **Education** be pleased to lay a statement on the Table showing:

(a) the total number of applications (State-wise) received under the Government of India Overseas Scholarships Scheme during 1953-54 and 1954-55;

(b) the number of applicants (State-wise) who were awarded the Scholarships; and

(c) the number of candidates who failed to make use of these Scholarships during the same period?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Education (Dr. M. M. Das): (a) to (c). A statement is laid on the Table of the House. [*See* Appendix VIII, annexure No. 56].

Advisory Panel of Experts

*1736. **Ch. Raghubir Singh:** Will the Minister of **Education** be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that Government have taken certain steps to establish an Advisory Panel of Experts to guide the students in advanced studies;

(b) if so, the nature of the steps taken; and

(c) how far they are successful?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Education (Dr. M. M. Das): (a) Yes.

(b) The Ministry of Education have set up an 'Advisory Panel' of some of the leading Scientists and Engineers in the country, in order to obtain expert advice for students wishing to go abroad for advanced studies/training. A second 'Panel' of Educationists, Economists, etc. is still under consideration of the Ministry. It is proposed to set up a similar 'Panel' to advice students wishing to go in for advanced study or research in India.

(c) The information and advice given by these experts have been valuable in guiding students on such matters as the selection of the country for advanced studies, the institution and the line of future study.

Government Servants

*1739. **Chaudhri Muhammed Shaffee:** **Shaffee:** Will the Minister of **Home Affairs** be pleased to lay a statement on the Table of the House showing:

(a) the number of employees of the Government of India dismissed during the period from February 1952 to the 28th February 1955 for political reasons;

(b) the names of the political parties with whom these persons were found to be associated; and

(c) the number of such cases which are still under consideration on this account?

The Deputy Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Datar): (a) to (c). Government servants are, under the Conduct Rules, prohibited from participating in political activities of any kind. Contraventions of these rules are dealt with by the authorities concerned to whom

powers of punishment have been delegated. Information regarding the number of cases in which punishment of dismissal has been imposed is not readily available.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION

*1740. **Shri S. N. Das:** Will the Minister of **Education** be pleased to refer to the reply given to starred question No. 977 on the 15th March, 1955, and state the main purpose and functions of the National Committee on Early Childhood Education?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Education (Dr. M. M. Das): A statement is laid on the Table of the House. [*See* Appendix VIII, annexure No. 57]

SETTLEMENT OF *Joomias*

*1741. **Shri Biren Dutt:** Will the Minister of **Home Affairs** be pleased to refer to the reply given to starred question No. 1720 on the 9th April, 1954 and state:

(a) whether it is a fact that the land allotted to the *Joomias* is not being given to them on the ground that it belongs to Talukdars; and

(b) what steps Government propose to take to settle the *Joomias* in the near future?

The Deputy Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Datar): (a) No.

(b) Does not arise.

NATIONAL MUSEUM

*1742. **Sardar Iqbal Singh:** Will the Minister of **Education** be pleased to state:

(a) whether any detailed scheme for the establishment of a National Museum at New Delhi has been formulated; and

(b) if so, whether a copy thereof will be laid on the Table of the Lok Sabha?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Education (Dr. M. M. Das): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) A copy of the scheme is laid on the Table of the House. [Placed in Library. *See* No. S-111/55].

NATIONAL DEFENCE ACADEMY, KHADAKVASLA

*1746. **Dr. N. B. Khare:** Will the Minister of **Defence** be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that the task of conducting a school for the children of officers working in the National Defence Academy at Khadakvasla has been given to a foreign missionary institution which conducts the St. Vincent School in Poona; and

(b) if so, the reasons therefor?

The Minister for Defence (Dr. Katju): (a) A private school for the benefit of children of persons working in the National Defence Academy at Khadakvasla has been started with the assistance of the Poona Jesuit Schools' Society.

(b) Poona is far off from Khadakvasla and it is necessary to have educational facilities at Khadakvasla.

VACANT CAMPS AT RANCHI

*1752. **Shri G. P. Sinha:** Will the Minister of **Defence** be pleased to state the amount that is being spent monthly on the watch and ward staff of the vacant military camps at Ranchi?

The Deputy Minister of Defence (Sardar Majithia): A sum of Rs. 2,170/- is being spent on watch and ward of seven vacant military camps of which four were declared surplus in January, 1955.

NATIONAL CADET CORPS

*1756. **Shrimati Ila Palchoudhury:** Will the Minister of **Defence** be pleased to state when and where the Boys and Girls Divisions of the National Cadet Corps are likely to hold their next social service camps?

The Deputy Minister of Defence (Shri Satish Chandra): A statement is laid on the Table of the House. [*See* Appendix VIII, annexure No. 58].

CLASS IV GOVERNMENT SERVANTS

*1767. **Shri S. C. Samanta:** Will the Minister of **Home Affairs** be pleased to state:

(a) whether there has been any change in the liveries of Class IV Government servants since 1947;

(b) if so, the nature of those changes;

(c) the names of the Ministries which are supplying Khadi dresses to such servants; and

(d) the amount spent by these Ministries on Khadi dresses annually?

The Deputy Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Datar): (a) Yes.

(b) A statement showing the details of the liveries now in use and the changes made since 1947 is placed on the Table of the House. [*See* Appendix VIII, annexure No. 59].

(c) and (d). The question of using *Khadi* for liveries is under consideration.

GEOLOGICAL SURVEY

*1768. **Shri Subodh Hasda:** Will the Minister of **Natural Resources and Scientific Research** be pleased to state whether it is a fact that some Geological parties have recently discovered the existence of Mica, Gypsum, Iron ore, Fire Clay, Ball Clay and Marble in the Bandhogarh area?

The Minister of Natural Resources (Shri K. D. Malaviya): A statement giving the information available is laid on the Table of the House. [*See* Appendix VIII, annexure No. 60].

INSURANCE COMPANIES

*1769. **Shri Anirudha Sinha:** Will the Minister of **Finance** be pleased to state:

(a) the amount of premia, if any, paid by Government during 1953-54 to General Insurance Companies for insuring their properties against loss by fire, burglaries etc; and

(b) the nature of the properties that Government get insured?

The Minister of Revenue and Civil Expenditure (Shri M. C. Shah): (a) and (b). The normal policy of the Government as laid down in Rule 288 of the General Financial Rules (Vol. I) is not to insure its property. Relaxation from this rule has been made in certain cases full particulars relating to which are being collected and will be laid on the Table of the House.

COLOMBO PLAN

*1771. **Shri Raghunath Singh:** Will the Minister of **Finance** be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that Mr. Nir Cavell, Colombo Plan Administrator of the Canadian Government visited Delhi recently and discussed with Government the programme for Canadian Assistance to India during the remaining part of the Colombo Plan; and

(b) if so, what is the result of these discussions?

The Minister of Revenue and Civil Expenditure (Shri M. C. Shah): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) The plans discussed have not yet been finalized. They have to be approved on the one hand by the Canadian Government and on the other hand by our Government.

U.N. STUDENTS' ASSOCIATION SCHOLARSHIP

*1772. **Shri Subodh Hasda:** Will the Minister of **Education** be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that the U.N. Students' Association of India is awarding a scholarship to an Indian graduate girl to study at Briarcliff College; and

(b) whether such a scholarship was awarded previously?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Education (Dr. M. M. Das): (a) The Government of India are not aware of this scholarship.

(b) Does not arise.

INDIAN STATISTICAL INSTITUTE CALCUTTA

520. Shri Tulsidas: Will the Minister of **Finance** be pleased to state:

(a) the total amounts of Grants or other financial assistance given to the Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta, since 1947;

(b) whether Government exercise any control or regulation over the working of this Institute; and

(c) whether the Planning Commission receives any assistance in the preparation of the Second Five Year Plan, specially with regard to the technique of physical planning?

The Minister of Revenue and Civil Expenditure (Shri M. C. Shah): (a) The following amounts have been given to the Indian Statistical Institute from 1-4-1947 to date:

	Rs.
(*i*) Capital Grant . .	8,05,000 (out of this, a sum of Rs. 1,10,000 is for equipment given on loan to the Institute).
(*ii*) Financial assistance for running the Research & Training School, the International Statistical Education Centre, the Statistical Quality Control Unit, Operational Research Unit, etc. .	39,12,200
(*iii*) For carrying out the N.S.S. and other projects for the Government of India . . .	1,02,89,900
TOTAL . .	1,50,07,100

(b) Government control over the I.S.I. is exercised in the following ways:

(i) Government examine the budget of the I.S.I. and make necessary financial provision.

(ii) Almost all the work done in the I.S.I. is for the Central Government and hence the work also is determined by Government.

(iii) Government have representatives on the Governing Body of the Research and Training School of the Institute.

(c) Yes.

GENERAL ELECTIONS

521. Shri M. L. Agrawal: Will the Minister of **Law** be pleased to lay on the Table of the House a statement regarding the General Election of 1952, showing:

(a) the number of all the candidates of each of the parties who contested the Elections for the Lok Sabha and for the Legislative Assemblies of the various States separately;

(b) the total number of votes secured by the candidates of each party separately in the different States; and

(c) the statistics regarding the Second General Elections in the States of PEPSU, Travancore-Cochin and Andhra showing the number of all the candidates, party-wise for the Legislative Assemblies and the total votes secured by all the candidates of each of the parties in these States separately?

The Minister in the Ministry of Law (Shri Pataskar): (a) to (c). The information is being collected and will be laid on the Table of the House when ready.

SCHOLARSHIPS

522. Shri D. C. Sharma: Will the Minister of **Education** be pleased to state the total amount allotted to the State of Punjab for grant of scholarships from the Centre for Backward Classes and Harijans for the years 1952-53, 1953-54 and 1954-55?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Education (Dr. M. M. Das): The funds available for the scholarships to Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes students are not allocated State-wise. The total expenditure of Rs. 7,66,400/- has been incurred for the award of scholarships to Scheduled Castes and Other Backward Classes belonging to Punjab State for the three years.

उत्तर प्रदेश में उर्दू

५२२. **श्री रघुनाथ सिंह :** क्या गृह-कार्य मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) क्या यह सच है कि ७ फरवरी, १९५५ को मद्रास में हुए अखिल भारतीय उर्दू सम्मेलन ने सरकार से निवेदन किया है कि उर्दू को उत्तर प्रदेश की क्षेत्रीय भाषा घोषित कर दिया जाए; और

(ख) यदि हां, तो इस सम्बन्ध में सरकार का क्या कार्यवाही करने का विचार है ?

गृह-कार्य उपमंत्री (श्री दातार): (क) हां।

(ख) सरकार ने इस विषय में कोई कार्यवाही नहीं की है।

Outbreak of Fire in Tripura

525. **Shri Dasaratha Deb:** Will the Minister of **Home Affairs** be pleased to state:

(a) the number of occasions when fire broke out in the bazars of Tripura during the last one year;

(b) the number of cases in which compensation has been given;

(c) the maximum and minimum compensation given to a victim of fire; and

(d) what steps have been taken to see that such fires do not break out in future?

The Deputy Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Datar): (a) Ten.

(b) 119.

(c) Maximum Rs. 175/-
Minimum Rs. 20/-.

(d) Action is being taken to set up fire-fighting units at Agartala and Kailasahar. In other towns, the Sub-Divisional Officers have been instructed to provide adequate fire-fighting equipment.

Scholarships to Foreign Students

526. **Sardar Akarpuri:** Will the Minister of **Education** be pleased to state:

(a) the number of foreign students who are receiving scholarships from the Government of India for studies in the Indian Universities;

(b) the subjects they study; and

(c) the names of the countries to which these students belong?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Education (Dr. M. M. Das): (a) to (c). A statement is laid on the Table of the House. [*See* Appendix VIII, annexure No. 61].

Vol. II-No.29
31st March, 1955 (Thursday)

LOK SABHA DEBATES

(Part II—Proceedings other than Questions and Answers)

(Vol. II contains Nos. 16—30)

Gazettes & Debates Section
Parliament Library Building
Acc. No. 25392
Date 09.12.2014

LOK SABHA SECRETARIAT
NEW DELHI

SIX ANNAS (INLAND) TWO SHILLINGS (FOREIGN)

CONTENTS

(*Volume II, Nos. 16 to 30—From 14th to 31st March 1955.*)

	Columns
No. 16.—MONDAY, 14TH MARCH, 1955—	
Death of King Tribhuvan	1941—43
Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill	
Motion to refer to Joint Committee—	
Not concluded	1943—2068
Shri Jawaharlal Nehru	1943—57
Shri N. C. Chatterjee	1960—75
Shri H. N. Mukerjee	1975—87
Shri Asoka Mehta	1987—98
Shri Pataskar	1998—2019
Shri Frank Anthony	2020—32
Dr. Krishnaswami	2033—44
Shri C. C. Shah	2044—58
Shri V.G. Deshpande	2058—68
No. 17—TUESDAY, 15TH MARCH, 1955—	
Messages from the Rajya Sabha	2069—70
Paper laid on the Table—	
Audit Report (Posts and Telegraphs) 1955, Part I—	2070
Committee on Absence of Members from Sittings of the House—Eighth Report—Report Presented	2071
Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill—	
Referred to Joint Committee	2071—2198
Shri V. G. Deshpande	2071—75
Shri Gadgil	2075—84
Shri Tulsidas	2085—95
Shri U.M. Trivedi	2095—2102
Shri Venkataraman	2102—13
Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava	2113—26
Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy	2126—30
Shri Punnoose	2130—35
Shri B. S. Murthy	2136—39
Shri P. N. Rajabhoj	2139—46
Shri T. T. Krishnamachari	2146—64
Shri Barman	2164—67
Shri S. N. Das	2167—72
Shri Raghavachari	2172—77
Shri Jawaharlal Nehru	2177—93
Essential Commodities Bill—Report of Select Committee—Presented	2198
No. 18.—WEDNESDAY, 16TH MARCH, 1955—	
Motion for Adjournment—	
Stoppage of work at Calcutta Port	2199—2200

	Columns
Papers laid on the Table—	
Bulletin *re.* Silk Industry in Japan	2200
Notification under Central Excises and Salt Act	2200
Messages from the Rajya Sabha	2201
Hindu Minority and Guardianship Bill—	
Report of Joint Committee—Laid on the Table	2201
Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions—	
Twenty-third Report—Presented	2201
Statement *re.* Removal of restriction on movement of wheat	2202—03
General Budget for 1955-56:—	
General Discussion—Not concluded	2203—2320
No. 19.—THURSDAY, 17TH MARCH, 1955—	
Messages from Rajya Sabha	2321—22
Leave of Absence	2322
General Budget for 1955-56—	
General Discussion —Not concluded	2322—2440
No. 20—FRIDAY, 18TH MARCH, 1955.—	
Calling attention to Matter of Urgent Public Importance—	
Strike in Pondicherry	2441—45
General Budget for 1955-56—	
General Discussion—Not concluded	2445—2501
Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions—	
Twenty-third Report—Adopted	2501
Indian Trade Unions (Amendment) Bill (*Insertion of new section 15A*)—	
Motion to consider—Negatived	2501—38
Shri T. B. Vittal Rao	2502—05
Shri D. C. Sharma	2505—12
Shri Keshavaiengar	2512—15
Shri Sadhan Gupta	2515—21
Shri Raja Ram Shastri	2521—29
Dr. Satyawati	2530—32
Shrimati Renu Chakravartty	2532—34
Shri Khandubhai Desai	2534—38
Prevention of Corruption (*Amendment*) Bill (*Amendment of section 5*)—	
Motion to circulate—Not concluded	2539—58
Shri U. C. Patnaik	2539—48
Shri Bogawat	2549—51
Shri Sivamurthi Swami	2552—53
Shri Bagwat Jha Azad	2553—56
No. 21.—SATURDAY, 19TH MARCH, 1955—	
Calling attention to Matter of Urgent Public Importance—	
Strike in Calcutta Port	2559—60
Paper laid on the Table—	
Minerals Conservation and Development Rules, 1955	2561

Columns

General Budget for 1955-56—
General Discussion—Not concluded . . . . . 2561—2709
Message from the Rajya Sabha . . . . . 2709—10
No. 22.—MONDAY, 21ST MARCH, 1955.—
President's Assent to Bills 2711
General Budget for 1955-56—
General Discussion—Concluded . . . . . 2711—61

Essential Commodities Bill, as reported by Select Committee—
Motion to consider—Adopted . . . . . 2761—2818
Shri T. T. Krishnamachari . . . . . 2761—67
Shri Amjad Ali . . . . . 2767—68
Shri U.M. Trivedi . . . . . 2768—76
Shri Venkataraman . . . . . 2776—83
Kumari Annie Mascarene . . . . . 2783—87
Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava . . . . . 2787—2802
Shri Tushar Chatterjea . . . . . 2802—05
Dr. Suresh Chandra . . . . . 2806—10
Shri Raghavachari . . . . . 2810—13
Shri Nand Lal Sharma . . . . . 2813—15
Shri Kanungo . . . . . 2815—18
Clauses 2 to 7A . . . . . 2818—37
Clause 8 . . . . . 2837—38

No. 23.—TUESDAY, 22ND MARCH, 1955.—

Message from Rajya Sabha . . . . . 2839—40
Statement *re.* Accident to Frontier Mail . . . . . 2840—41
Essential Commodities Bill—Passed, as amended . . . . 2841—56
Clauses 1 and 8 to 15 . . . . . 2841—56
Motion to pass 2856
Shri T. T. Krishnamachari 2856

Demands for Grants for 1955-56— . . . . . 2856—2972
Demand No. 99.—Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply . . 2856—2917
Demand No. 100.—Supplies . . . . . 2856—2917
Demand No. 101.—Other Civil Works . . . . . 2856—2917
Demand No. 102.—Stationery and Printing . . . . . 2856—2917
Demand No. 103.—Miscellaneous Departments and Expenditure under the Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply . . 2856—2917
Demand No. 136.—New Delhi Capital Outlay . . . . . 2856—2917
Demand No. 137.—Capital Outlay on Buildings . . . . . 2856—2917
Demand No. 138.—Other Capital Outlay of the Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply . . . . . 2856—2917
Demand No. 69.—Ministry of Labour . . . . . 2918—72
Demand No. 70.—Chief Inspector of Mines . . . . . 2918—72
Demand No. 71.—Miscellaneous Departments and Expenditure under the Ministry of Labour . . . . . 2918—72
Demand No. 72.—Employment Exchanges and Resettlement . . 2918—72
Demand No. 73.—Civil Defence . . . . . 2918—72
Demand No. 139.—Capital Outlay of the Ministry of Labour . . 2918—72
Accidents in Coal Mines . . . . . 2972—86

	Columns
No. 24.—WEDNESDAY, 23RD MARCH, 1955.—	
Paper laid on the Table—	
Report of Indian Government Delegation to 37th Session of International Labour Conference	2987
Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions—	
Twenty-fourth Report—Presented	2987
Salaries and Allowances of Members of Parliament (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	2987-88
Business of the House	2988—90
Demands for Grants for 1955—56—	2990—3152
Demand No. 69—Ministry of Labour	2990—3040
Demand No. 70—Chief Inspector of Mines	2990—3040
Demand No. 71—Miscellaneous Departments and Expenditure under the Ministry of Labour	2990—3040
Demand No. 72—Employment Exchanges and Resettlement	2990—3040
Demand No. 73—Civil Defence	2990—3040
Demand No. 129—Capital Outlay of the Ministry of Labour	2990—3040
Demand No. 90—Ministry of Rehabilitation	3040—3152
Demand No. 91—Expenditure on Displaced persons	3040—3152
Demand No. 92—Miscellaneous Expenditure under the Ministry of Rehabilitation	3040—3152
Demand No. 132.—Capital Outlay of the Ministry of Rehabilitation	3040—3152
No. 25.—THURSDAY, 24TH MARCH, 1955.—	
Correction of Answer to Starred Question No. 233	3153
Spirituous Preparations (Inter-State Trade and Commerce) Control Bill—Introduced	3153-54
Demands for Grants for 1955-56—	3154—3306
Demand No. 90—Ministry of Rehabilitation	3173
Demand No. 91—Expenditure on Displaced Persons	3174
Demand No. 92—Miscellaneous Expenditure under the Ministry of Rehabilitation	3174
Demand No. 132—Capital Outlay of the Ministry of Rehabilitation	3174
Demand No. 41—Ministry of Food and Agriculture	3174—3306
Demand No. 42—Forest	3174—3306
Demand No. 43—Agriculture	3174—3306
Demand No. 44—Civil Veterinary Services	3174—3306
Demand No. 45—Miscellaneous Departments and other Expenditure under the Ministry of Food and Agriculture	3174—3306
Demand No. 121—Capital Outlay on Forests	3174—3306
Demand No. 122—Purchases of Foodgrains	3174—3306
Demand No. 123—Other Capital Outlay of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture	3174—3306
No. 26—FRIDAY, 25TH MARCH, 1955.—	
Demands for Grants for 1955-56—	3307—67, 3383, 3347—52
Demand No. 41—Ministry of Food and Agriculture	3307—23
Demand No. 42—Forest	3307—23
Demand No. 43—Agriculture	3307—23
Demand No. 44.—Civil Veterinary Services	3307—23
Demand No. 45—Miscellaneous Departments and other Expenditure under the Ministry of Food and Agriculture	3307—23
Demand No. 121.—Capital Outlay on Forests	3307—23

	Columns
Demand No. 122—Purchases of Food grains	3307—23
Demand No. 123—Other Capital Outlay of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture	3307—23
Demand No. 11—Ministry of Defence	3323—67, 3347—52
Demand No 12—Defence Services, Effective—Army	3323—67
Demand No. 13—Defence Services, Effective—Navy	3323—67
Demand No. 14—Defence Services, Effective—Air Force	3323—67
Demand No. 15—Defence Services, Non-Effective Charges	3323—67, 3347-52
Demnd No. 111—Defence Capital Outlay	3327—67
Salaries and Allowances of Members of Parliament (Amendment) Bill— Passed	3367—83, 3383—88
Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions— Twenty-fourth Report—Adopted	3388—89
Resolution *re* Collective Bargaining by Workers—Barred	3389—93
Resolution *re* inbalance in Price Structure—Barred	3393—3401
Resolution *re* River Valley Schemes—Withdrawn	3401—46
No. 27—MONDAY, 28TH MARCH 1955—	
Paper Laid on the Table— Annual Report of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research for 1952-53	3453
President's Assent to Bills	3453
Message from Rajya Sabha	3453—55
Demands for Grants for 1955-56—	3455—3592
Demand No. 11—Ministry of Defence	3455—3592
Demand No. 12—Defence Services, Effective—Army	3455—3592
Demand No. 13—Defence Services, Effective—Navy	3455—3592
Demand No. 14—Defence Services, Effective—Air Force	3455—3592
Demand No. 15—Defence Services, Non--Effective Charges	3455—3592
Demand No 111—Defence Capital Outlay	3455—3592
Index	3455—3592
No. 28—TUESDAY, 29TH MARCH, 1955—	
Papers laid on the Table—	
Statements showing action taken by Government on assurances etc.	3593—94
President's proclamation *re* Andhra	3594
Message from the Rajya Sabha	3594
Finance Bill—Petition presented	3595
Demands for Grants for 1955-56—	3595—3742
Demand No. 11—Ministry of Defence	3597—3618
Demand No. 12—Defence Services, Effective—Army	3597—3618
Demand No. 13—Defence Services, Effective—Navy	3597—3618
Demand No. 14—Defence Services, Effective—Air Force	3597—3618
Demand No. 15—Defence Services, Non-Effective Charges	3597—3618
Demand No. 111—Defence Capital Outlay	3597—3618
Demand No. 5—Ministry of Communications	3619—3742
Demand No. 6.—Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department (Including Working Expenses)	3619—3742

Columns

Demand No. 7—Meteorology . . . . . 3619—3742
Demand No. 8—Overseas Communications Service . . . 3619—3742
Demand No. 9—Aviation . . . . . 3619—3742
Demand No. 10—Miscellaneous Departments and Expenditure under the Ministry of Communications . . . . . 3619—3742
Demand No. 108—Capital Outlay on Indian Posts and Telegraphs (Not met from Revenue) . . . . . 3619—3742
Demand No. 109—Capital Outlay on Civil Aviation . . . 3619—3742
Demand No. 110—Other Capital Outlay of the Ministry of Communications . . . . . 3619—3742

No. 29—WEDNESDAY, 30TH MARCH, 1955—

Message from Rajya Sabha 3743
Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions—Twenty-fifth Report—Presented 3743

Demands for Grants for 1955-56— . . . . . 3743—3882
Demand No. 5—Ministry of Communications . . . . . 3743—63
Demand No. 6—Indian Ports and Telegraphs Department (Including Expenses Working . . . . . 3743—63
Demand No. 7—Meteorology . . . . . 3743—63
Demand No. 8—Overseas Communications Service . . . 3743—63
Demand No. 9—Aviation . . . . . 3743—63
Demand No. 10—Miscellaneous Departments and Expenditure under the Ministry of Communications . . . . . 3743—63
Demand No. 108—Capital Outlay on Indian Ports and Telegraphs (Not met from Revenue)— . . . . . 3743—63
Demand No. 109—Capital Outlay on Civil Aviation . . . 3743—63
Demand No. 110—Other Capital Outlay of the Ministry of Communications . . . . . 3743—63
Demand No. 46—Ministry of Health . . . . . 3763—3811
Demand No. 47—Medical Services . . . . . 3763—3811
Demand No. 48—Public Health . . . . . 3763—3811
Demand No. 49—Miscellaneous Expenditure under the Ministry of Health . . . . . 3763—3811
Demand No. 124—Capital Outlay of the Ministry of Health . . 3763—3811
Demand No. 76—Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research . . . . . 3811—82
Demand No. 17—Survey of India . . . . . 3811—82
Demand No. 78—Botanical Survey . . . . . 3811—82
Demand No. 79—Zoological Survey . . . . . 3811—82
Demand No. 80—Geological Survey . . . . . 3811—82
Demand No. 81—Mines . . . . . 3811—82
Demand No. 82—Scientific Research . . . . . 3811—82
Demand No. 83—Miscellaneous Departments and Expenditure under the Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research 3811—82
Demand No. 130—Capital Outlay of the Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research . . . . . 3811—82

No. 30.—THURSDAY, 31ST MARCH 1955—

Papers laid on the Table—
Notifications under the Sea Customs Act 3883

Messages from the Rajya Sabha . . . . . 3883—84

Finance Commission (Miscellaneous Provisions) Amendment Bill—Laid on the Table as passed by Rjya Sabha. . 3884

Hyderabad Export Duties (validation) Bill—Introduced . . . . . 3884—85

Railway Stores (Unlawful Possession) Bill—Report of Select Committee presented 3885

Government Premises (Eviction) Amendment Bill—Time for presentation of Report of Select Committee extended . . . . . 3885—86

Demands for Grants for 1955-56— . . . . . 3886—4004, 4005—22

Demand No. 21—Tribal Areas . . . . . 3886—4004, 4005—22

Demand No. 22—External Affairs . . . . . 3886—4004, 4005—22

Demand No. 23—State of Pondicherry . . . . . 3886—4004, 4005—22

Demand No. 24—Miscellaneous Expenditure under the Ministry of External Affairs . . . . . 3886—4004, 4005—22

Demand No. 113—Capital Outlay of the Ministry of External Affairs 3886—4005, 4005—22

Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Bill—Report of Joint Committee presented 4005

Index . . . . . .

Dated.....9.12.2014

LOK SABHA

Thursday, 31st March, 1955

The Lok Sabha met at Eleven of the Clock.

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

(*See Part I*)

12 NOON.

PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

NOTIFICATIONS UNDER SEA CUSTOMS ACT.

The Minister of Revenue and Defence Expenditure (Shri A. C. Guha): I beg to lay on the Table a copy each of the Customs Notifications Nos. 31 and 32, dated the 26th February, 1955, under sub-section (4) of section 43B of the Sea Customs Act, 1878, as inserted by the Sea Customs (Amendment) Act, 1953. [Placed in *Library. See* No. S-103/55.]

MESSAGES FROM THE RAJYA SABHA

Secretary: Sir, I have to report the following two messages received from the Secretary of Rajya Sabha:

(i) "In accordance with the provisions of rule 125 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Rajya Sabha, I am directed to inform the Lok Sabha that the Rajya Sabha, at its sitting held on the 29th March 1955, agreed without any amendment to the Medicinal and Toilet Preparations (Excise Duties) Bill, 1955, which was passed by the Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 12th March, 1955."

(ii) "In accordance with the provisions of rule 97 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Rajya Sabha, I am directed to enclose a copy of the Finance Commission (Miscellaneous Provisions) Amendment Bill, 1955, which has been passed by the Rajya Sabha at its sitting held on the 29th March, 1955."

FINANCE COMMISSIONS (MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS) AMENDMENT BILL

Secretary: Sir, I lay the Finance Commission (Miscellaneous Provisions) Amendment Bill, 1955, as passed by the Rajya Sabha, on the Table of the House.

HYDERABAD EXPORT DUTIES (VALIDATION) BILL

Mr. Speaker: I might state that the hon. Home Minister need not stand in his seat when moving anything, for reasons of health. He has my permission at all times to speak sitting.

The Minister of Home Affairs (Pandit G. B. Pant): I should thank you for your kind consideration.

I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill to validate the levy and collection of certain duties on the export of goods from the State of Hyderabad.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to validate the levy and collection of certain duties on the export of goods from the State of Hyderabad."

The motion was adopted.

Pandit G. B. Pant: I introduce* the Bill.

RAILWAY STORES (UNLAWFUL POSSESSION) BILL

PRESENTATION OF REPORT OF SELECT COMMITTEE

Sardar Hukam Singh (Karpurthala—Bhatinda): I beg to present the Report of the Select Committee on the Bill to provide for the extension of the law relating to the punishment of the offence of unlawful possession of railway stores, as now in force, to the whole of India and to re-enact its provisions, as passed by the Rajya Sabha.

GOVERNMENT PREMISES (EVICTION) AMENDMENT BILL

EXTENSION OF TIME FOR PRESENTATION OF REPORT OF SELECT COMMITTEE

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava (Gurgaon): I beg to move:

"That the time appointed for the presentation of the Report of the Select Committee on the Bill further to amend the Government Premises (Eviction) Act, 1950, be further extended upto the 30th April, 1955."

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That the time appointed for the presentation of the Report of the Select Committee on the Bill further to amend the Government Premises (Eviction) Act, 1950, be further extended upto the 30th April, 1955."

The motion was adopted.

---

†DEMANDS FOR GRANTS FOR 1955-56

DEMANDS *re.* MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Mr. Speaker: The House will now take up discussion of the Demands for Grants Nos. 21, 22, 23, 24, and 113 relating to the Ministry of External Affairs. As the House is aware, five hours have been allotted for the Demands of this Ministry.

There are a number of cut motions to these various Demands. Hon. Members may hand over the numbers of the selected cut motions which they propose to move at the Table, within 15 minutes. I shall treat them as moved, if the Members in whose names those cut motions stand are present in the House and the motions are otherwise in order.

The time-limit for speeches will, as usual, be 15 minutes for the Members including movers of cut motions, and 20 minutes if necessary, for Leaders of Groups.

DEMAND NO. 21—TRIBAL AREAS

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,34,11,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1956, in respect of 'Tribal Areas'."

DEMAND NO. 22—EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 6,21,00,000 be granted to the

---

*Introduced with the recommendation of the President.

†Moved with the recommendation of the President.

President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1956, in respect of 'External Affairs'."

DEMAND No. 23—STATE OF PONDICHERRY

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,89,83,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1956, in respect of 'State of Pondicherry'."

DEMAND No. 24—MISCELLANEOUS EXPENDITURE UNDER THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,88,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1956, in respect of 'Miscellaneous Expenditure under the Ministry of External Affairs'."

DEMAND No. 113—CAPITAL OUTLAY OF THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 22,92,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1956, in respect of 'Capital Outlay of the Ministry of External Affairs'."

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): Perhaps, it might be helpful if I said something in broad outline about the situation confronting us today, although the subjects before us deal with the Demands for Grants and, no doubt, the various cut motions, or some of them at least, are important in their respective spheres. After all, the whole Ministry of External Affairs is broadly responsible for our international relations, and international relations today play perhaps a more important role in the world, even in affecting domestic policy, than almost anything else.

We live from day to day in fear of something happening which might confront us with a grave situation of war or peace. It is true that I do not think there is any immediate danger of war or danger of war in the near future; nevertheless, I am sorry to say that the situation generally in the world has hardened; it has become more difficult of solution, and things are happening which might well lead not merely to a worsening of the situation but to catastrophic results. Perhaps when the history of these times is written in the future, two things will stand out. One is the coming of atomic energy and the other is the emergence of Asia. There are, of course, many other important things happening too, but I do think that these two matters are, in a historic sense, of high importance, more important than anything else. As the sign and symbol of the latter, that is, the emergence of Asia, we are having, as the House well knows, a conference at Bandung in Indonesia in about two and a half weeks' time, a Conference which is styled the Asian-African Conference, to which all the free and independent nations of Asia and Africa have been invited. I do think that this Conference has something of historic importance about it. It is unique, of course; no such thing has ever happened before, and the fact that representatives, I believe, of 1400 million people meet there, even though they differ amongst themselves, is a matter of the utmost significance.

The House will remember that it had become a regular practice for the affairs of Asia to be determined by

[Shri Jawaharlal Nehru]

certain Great Powers in Europe or sometimes in America, and the fact that people in Asia might have any views about those subjects was not considered a matter of very great importance. It is true that some importance is attached to those views now, because they cannot be ignored; nevertheless, it seems to be the high privilege of countries outside Asia to carry the burden of Asia on their shoulders, and repeatedly things happen and decisions are made affecting Asia in which Asia has little say. But it is obvious that things have changed in Asia. Whether they have changed for the right or for the wrong may depend upon the opinions people hold; but they have changed, and changed greatly, and are changing, and this kind of other people deciding the fate of Asian countries is not approved of by the countries of Asia. I cannot presume to speak for other people, but I think I am correct in saying so. So this Asian-African Conference is a gathering, I think, of very great importance. The mere fact of its meeting is important. What it does, I cannot say, because countries coming there have different policies, different outlooks, sometimes opposing policies, and I do not know that it will be very easy for them to evolve any common outlooks or approaches. Yet, it is clear that there is something in common between them, even though they might otherwise differ; otherwise, they would not have agreed to gather together in this way.

So that is an important factor which, I hope, the House will remember, the Conference that is coming. The Conference, of course, is not opposed to anybody, opposed to Europe or America or taking sides as a Conference in the great conflict and tug-of-war that is going on in the world. It is merely a coming together of Asian and African countries. Now, what do the Asian and African countries exactly aim at? All of them? Well, they obviously aim at two things; peace and opportunity to progress. They are all anxious to do that. They are not interested in other people's quarrels or disputes. They want to get on. They want to make good themselves in their own countries just as we, in our country, want to make good. And, for that purpose, we want peace in the world. Therefore, there is this tremendous urge for peace which is present all over the world, I think in the countries of Asia and Africa more than perhaps even elsewhere, just as the urge to freedom too is present, I think, all over the world, but more so among those who were not free for long periods, who either recently achieved their freedom or have yet to achieve their freedom. Freedom for them is much more important than to those who have been used to freedom for a long time past. Therefore, there is this passionate desire for peace and opportunity for progress in these countries and that is a common bond.

As I said,—I hope, I cannot say definitely,—but I hope, the Conference will not line up with these Great Power blocs. It cannot, in the nature of things, because the countries, that are attending the Conference themselves hold different views on that matter. The House knows that it has become almost impossible to consider any matter logically and reasonably or by itself. Everything has to be considered, now, we are told, like this: whether it advances the communist cause or defeats it, whether it is communist or anti-communist. There is no way of dealing with the situation by some Powers and authorities unless you raise the conflict of communism or anti-communism. Now, this has made it difficult to understand any question, much less to solve it. The simple, rather naive view of the world is that you must belong to this bloc or that bloc. If you do not, well, you are either very foolish or you do not understand what is happening in the world or there is some mischief be-

hind your attitude. This kind of approach would have been difficult enough at any time, but, when we live as we do now on the verge, on the threshold, of this atomic age, it is a dangerously simple way of looking at things. And, we might, because of the simple thinking—I mean the world—suddenly find ourselves just on the brink of disaster.

We have endeavoured not to align ourselves with these Great Powers and I speak of them with all respect. I do not presume to tell them what is right or wrong, but, I must confess that I feel very diffident about expressing any opinion in regard to other countries—sometimes in regard to my own—I feel very diffident because the problems we have to face are very difficult. There are new problems being brought out and if people try to solve them by some slogan or precedent of their own times, then, I am afraid, it may be completely wrong. Therefore, I speak with every diffidence about these matters. It passes my comprehension how any of the problems of today are going to be solved by the approaches that are being made today by the Great Powers. I cannot understand this.

There was one approach some time ago, last lear, in Geneva, which was a logical approach. It was an approach directed towards the solution of the problem. It did lead at least to a temporary solution because those who met desired to reach a certain conclusion and because the problem was dealt with as such and not merely as the backwash of the great struggle between communist and anti-communist countries. Therefore it was solved. Having achieved a measure of success at Geneva the world has again drifted back to glaring at each other from a distance, countries glaring at each other from a distance and, it seems to me very extraordinary, laying great stress on all types of military alliances and pacts, in South East Asia, in Western Asia and elsewhere in the name of security and peace.

Now, this question might be argued in theory whether these pacts encourage security or peace, but we need not go into the theory of it because we have the actual facts before our eyes, as to what is happening. There was a situation in the Indo-China States after the Geneva Conference which was a hopeful and a favourable situation, a difficult one, but nevertheless a hopeful one. And, for some months it lasted, and the Commissions of which India has the honour to be Chairman functioned satisfactorily and harmoniously. Then comes out of the blue an attempt, as it was said, to secure security and peace in South East Asia through some kind of a military pact or alliance, the foundations of which were laid at Manila. It was not clear to me then how exactly peace was ensured or security assured by that pact. It is clear to me now that that Manila Treaty and the Bangkok Conference that followed have upset any ideas of peace in that area that previously existed or any ideas of security and the whole conception lying behind the Geneva Conference which was a conception, if I may use the word, of co-existence. The Indo-China States could not continue unless they recognised each other and unless the other Great Powers recognised their freedom and independence and came to an understanding not to interfere with their freedom and independence. It was on that basis that the Geneva Treaty was formed. What is the trouble with the world today? Not perhaps so much the aggressive intention of any country, though individuals may have them, but the terrible fear of each country that the other has aggressive intentions. And, in order to prevent the other from being the aggressor you become the aggressor yourself. It is a most extraordinary situation and that was the position in regard to the Indo-China States because each of the major countries was afraid lest the others take advantage of the Indo-

[Shri Jawaharlal Nehru]

China States against it. And the only solution was that both Powers should agree to leave the Indo-China States by themselves and alone, by and large and not to try to line them up with their own group because the moment one group tried to increase its influence or its pressure, or brought the areas under its own sphere of influence' as it has been euphemistically called in the past, immediately the other power got going to introduce itself and the conflict began again, call it a cold war or call it what you like.

Unfortunately, that rather happy phase in Indo-China did not last long. I do not say it has all broken up. But the situation is much more difficult today. Quite apart from that, the House will judge of the curious situation when they read only in this morning's papers that there is civil war in South Viet Nam. It was an extraordinary state of affairs in Laos. The outcome of the Geneva Agreement is interpreted in various ways and the Geneva Agreement, I must say, was drafted in such a hurry that it can be interpreted in various ways. And so, I am talking about the Geneva Agreement in regard to Laos, not the whole Agreement. Difficulties are arising. I do not want to go into details about these matters, but I am merely pointing out that all these difficulties arise. I do not wish to say whose fault it is but we have a certain responsibility in trying to resolve those difficulties. To point out or to name people at fault does not help in resolving a difficulty, but what I want this House to bear in mind is this, that because of certain developments in the Far East, in South East Asia, the whole atmosphere has changed there, that is, it has hardened the fear of war or for one person gaining an advantage over another or for one country over another. I mentioned the Manila Treaty and the subsequent Bangkok Conference. Then there is this very dangerous situation in the China Sea between Farmosa and the mainland of China. So far as we are concerned, obviously we can only have one broad approach to this problem, which flows from our recognition of the People's Government of China. I am not going into that repeatedly, but there is something; it may be that there are other countries that do not agree with us—some countries there are, we think. Nobody, of course, says that there is separate State like Formosa because Formosa claims to be China just as China claims Formosa to be a part. But there has been a general, wide agreement of one obvious fact, and that is that the Islands of Matsu and Quemoy, which are four or five miles off the mainland are definitely part of the mainland, and an enemy force there is a constant irritation and constant danger. Countries which are not friendly to the People's Government of China have recognised that fact at least, and yet the occupation of Quemoy and Matsu continues by other forces, and it is stated that if the Chinese People's Government attacks them, then the whole force of the mighty Power will be engaged in defending them because it is said that they might involve the security of the Great Power. That is a very extraordinary approach,—I say so with all respect. It is certain as anything can be certain that these Islands will go to the mainland of China by logic, by reason, by anything, unless you have great wars—and nobody knows the consequences of those wars. Therefore, what are you planning for—the great war to happen? You are just going against every canon of logic and reason and practical good sense. I do not understand this, because things are judged or measured by yard-sticks which I cannot follow. I read articles about my humble self in the foreign press I see something: "Now he is inclined towards this, towards that and so on." Nobody seems to imagine that I am an Indian inclined towards India and nobody else—as if I was inclined towards America, Russia or China. I want to be friendly with

them. Why should I be inclined towards them? I am happy enough now and let me be left in peace to work for my country, for the destinies of my country. But I am interested in the peace of the world because that obviously is of high importance to my country as to every other country and so I cannot keep out of it. We have absolutely no intention to throw ourselves into war even if the whole world is at war; we are not at war. It is quite clear—there will be no doubt about it—that we will not go to war, but if there is war all over the world, we cannot escape the consequences of that war and we cannot be looking on the whole world going to rack and ruin. It will affect us. Hon. Members might perhaps remember a saying by Professor Einstein—it is attributed to him—that after the next war, wars would be fought by bows and arrows, that is, the consequences of the next war would be such that only bows and arrows would be left, and that is the stage of civilisation which is represented by bows and arrows. That is the opinion of a very great scientist and of those who are talking about, at least so far modern weapons are concerned.

Let us, therefore, take a realistic view of the situation and not talk about peace vaguely and do every thing which encourages an atmosphere of fear and war. It is an extraordinary thing and I have no doubt that except for some maniacs nobody wants war in the world, and yet inevitably we indulge in activities which take the world to war. You may sit down and say that this country is at fault or that statesman is at fault, but that does not do much good. We are all, to some extent, at fault perhaps. I mentioned South East Asia. Now take the Middle East. Again, there is a passion for having little military alliances and pacts. All kinds of people rush about and talk to each other, and out comes the statement about military alliance between this country and that country. How that military alliance changes the world situation or the situation in that particular area in the slightest, either in the military sense or in the political sense, I have not been able to understand. I shall correct myself: it does change it, for it changes it for the worse.

Take the Middle-Eastern pacts—I am very sorry to criticise today other countries because they are free to do what they like—and some months back recently, there was news of a certain military alliance between two countries of the so-called Middle East or Western Asia. They are perfectly welcome to do that. I happened to pass just about that time through Egypt and spent two or three days in Cairo, and I was asked by the Press there about my reactions. I said expressively and clearly that I thought that these military pacts, far from being helpful, did a lot of harm; far from bringing any security or assurance of peace, they actually help the other way. Take the effect of this very Middle East pact, to which we find a reference in this morning's newspaper, that a Great Power has adhered to attack itself to it. The first result has been the weakening and also the breaking up of the Arab League, which has brought the Arab countries together for co-operative effort. The second effect is that there is great bitterness. Egypt, for instance, is greatly opposed to this. In Syria, about that time, there was actually a change of government because of this pact. Syria today is very much opposed to these pacts. Saudi Arabia opposes this; there is Yemen and there may be others apart from these, who are opposed to this, so that the Middle East has been split up into hostile camps because that pact was made.

Also look at it from the point of view of those very persons that have brought about this pact. Does it serve their own interests—leave out the interests of somebody else—to break up the homogeneity of the Middle East and create discord and trouble there? There was a mention

[Shri Jawaharlal Nehru]

the other day about the Yugoslav Government in which they said they viewed with grave concern the development of the situation in the Middle East because of these pacts, because of the pressure that was being exercised on the Government of Syria and other Governments to join the pact, which those Governments have resisted and I hope they will resist, because far too much is being done today under pressure and under threats and under other methods of coercion. So that, if hon. Members will see this broad picture of what is happening in South-East Asia, the Far East and Western Asia, they will find it is not a happy picture. It is a picture full of discord and conflict and pulling in different directions. On the one side one sees Asia resurgent, Asia awake, Asia as if undoubtedly coming out, waking up and stretching out her limbs. It may take some time for her to grow to her stature, undoubtedly growing and troubled with all the difficulties of growth. On the other hand all these attempts, in the name of helping Asia, in the name of preserving peace in Asia, at promoting discord and conflict are made. Obviously we cannot view this with great satisfaction.

In fact, many of the important problems, except one or two, of the world today somehow affect Asia. A very big problem does not affect us, that is of Germany. There again, I cannot speak much about Germany. Nor do I wish to except to remind the House that it is one of the biggest problems in the world today, what happens in Germany with which is involved not only the unity of the two Germanies, but also the question of rearmament of Germany and all that. Now decisions have been made about the rearmament of Germany. There is at present a Disarmament Conference sitting somewhere and considering proposals which we hope will come into effect. I do not know what the results of it will be. At the same time, major policies are based on the rearmament of some powers which at present are not heavily armed. This does not seem to me very logical.

What exactly are we aiming at? Repeatedly we hear talk about the Big Four or the Big Five—I do not know how many are big or how many are small—the Big Four or the Big Three meeting and talking things. Sometimes we are told that there will be an informal meeting without an agenda. For the last two years and a half we have been hearing this. Yet, insuperable difficulties come in the way of their meeting. If one person agrees, somebody else holds him back and does not permit him; if both agree a third person disagrees. So, the situation goes from bad to worse and people are not even brave enough to face each other and have a talk with each other. Because, they want to create a situation previous to the talks, which, according to them, is what is called a situation of strength. "Let us negotiate through strength": that is the formula, forgetting of course that the other power is also strengthening itself at the same time. So, by the time you have produced a situation of strength, the other might have produced a situation of greater strength. So, they do not know where they are.

Again, when you deal with atom bombs and hydrogen bombs, this question of some greater strength or not has little effect. It has little meaning because you have arrived at a stage,—so we are told,—where even if one Power does it, and the other Power is relatively weaker, the effect on both is going to be much the same. That is what is called the state of saturation in regard to atom bombs, or hydrogen bombs. So, even if one is much bigger than the other with a greater number of bombs, may be more powerful bombs, in the ultimate effect both going to suffer terribly. In fact, the world is going to suffer. That is why I said because of all this

that the situation in the world, far from being a promising one, is definitely a depressing one. I do not mean to say that a sudden catastrophe is coming, because countries are so afraid of it that they wish to avoid it. Nevertheless, things move in that direction and great statesmen talk too lightly sometimes of what they will do if something happens, how they will throw in their full weight of atom bombs and all that, if something happens.

Now in this broad world situation, what exactly are we to do? Are we to enter into these manoeuvrings and power conflicts and pacts here and there? I want this House to consider it from the lowest, opportunist point of view—forget for the moment any idealism, although idealism is very necessary,—in fact, more necessary than at any other time. But from the lowest, opportunist, practical point of view, what are we to do about it? Are we going into this mad house also, behaving like lunatics like others? Simply because a person has got a hydrogen bomb, it does not mean that his mind has also become as powerful as the hydrogen bomb. The misfortune today is that we have got atomic energy which is a mighty power. It does depict the advance of humanity and its control over nature and nature's powers—tremendous things. But it is very doubtful how far the human mind has progressed to control them. And one comes ultimately at any rate, when thinking about this, to some kind of a conclusion that atomic energy cannot be met by atomic energy. That is to say, to put it differently the force of violence cannot be outmanoeuvred by force of violence. We have arrived at a stage where the force is so tremendous that it will overwhelm us, both the person against whom it is used and the user of it. And unless we have some other methods of countering it or controlling it, we are likely to be overwhelmed.

What are the other methods? People go about signing documents: ban atomic weapons, atom bombs; don't manufacture them. I have also sometimes talked about this. But the more I think of it the more am I convinced that it is completely futile now to talk about this business of banning this and that. It has no meaning to me now, or very little meaning. The time is going to come presently when the hydrogen bomb might be made with some ease even by a small country—with gross exaggeration a scientist told me that it might be made in somebody's back-garden. It may be an exaggeration. But it shows where things are going. So, what is going to happen to the world when hydrogen bombs are made anywhere? How are we going to meet this menace to the world, unless you can control it by some entirely different standards—call them moral, call them spiritual, call them what you like,—I am not using the word in a narrow sense,—call them civilised. Because after all humanity has come to a certain stage of civilisation which has taught it restraint and behaviour and all that. We are forgetting all that restraint and behaviour. The events of the last two wars have brutalised humanity. We are now standing at the verge of destiny: whether humanity is to revert to some phase of well being brutish beasts, or advance towards the stage of civilisation. It is a matter of culture and civilisation; it is a matter of standards, of values that we have, and it seems to me—and I say that with all humility—that what Gandhiji put before us and the world perhaps has as even more significance today in the world as it is, than it had previously. I see no other way out except for countries and nations to adopt Gandhiji's gospel, though not thought, but any how to realise that force is no remedy, that war is not only no remedy but is an ultimate evil today, and that violence is no good and does not pay—apart from its moral values.

Now, the House knows about what are called the *Panch Shila*, the five principles. Some people have criticised them. Some people have said—the Prime Minister of a country said—all

(Shri Jawaharlal Nehru)

this is some kind of 'communist trick'. Well, the fact of the matter is that these principles—what we call *Panch Shila*—are a challenge to the world and we want the answer of every country in the world as to what they think about them. Let every country say that it is agreed with it. I want them to have the courage to say so because I do say that every country, if it is honest to itself and if it is honest to its desire to peace, must accept them; there is no way out.

What are they? The recognition of territorial integrity and sovereignty of each country, non-aggression, non-interference in iternal affairs, mutual respect, equality, etc. Am I going to be told by any country that this is disagreeable? If they are for aggression let them say so; similarly, let them say if they are for internal interference in other countries' affairs—much of it is taking place, I know but nobody recognises that; nobody admits that rather—I do say that the *Panch Shila* are a challenge of Asia to the rest of the world. And each country will have to give a straight answer to this question and I do hope that the question would be put in all its straightness and boldness by the Asian-African Conference. Let each country search its mind and answer whether it stands for non-aggression and non-interference.

The charge is made—rightly, I say, sometimes—about communist interference in other countries. Non-communist countries also interfere in other countries obviously. How are we getting over this? The present military approach is to get more and more powerful to squash the other party so that it may not do it. In doing so, of course, you squash the world and yourself. It is not exactly the brilliant way of approach to the solution of the problem.

Now, the *Panch Shila* says: Well, both of you or all of you refrain from interference internally or externally in a straight way. It may be that someone agreeing to it does not keep his word; it can always happen, whether you have a treaty or an alliance or a pledge. But anyhow, it is a firm basis for an agreement. If some country agreeing to it does not keep up its word, naturally it gets into hot water much more than otherwise. So that, this principle of *Panch Shila*—or call it co-existence, if you like it in a particular sense—you have to admit. Either you admit co-existence in the modern world or you admit conflict and co-destruction. That is the alternative to it.

The Asian-African Conference is, if I may say so, a rather strikingly remarkable example of co-existence. Countries come there with different outlooks and differing approaches. Some of them have been allied in military alliances. But, still they come there and discuss matters in a different context—in the context of co-existence.

Now again there is a good deal of talk about communism and anti-communism. Both are important—I do not deny that, but what about some little and odd things happening in the continent of Africa? What about things that are happening in the new colonial territories? What about that tragedy—that human tragedy—that is continually taking place in the Dominion of South Africa—hundreds and thousands of people lifted up bodily from their homes and taken away somewhere else? Why do we not hear the champions of freedom talk about this? They are silent; they simply pass it over. But they should realise that people in Asia and Africa, though they may not shout very much about it, feel it; sometimes they feel it more than communism and anti-communism. It is a human problem for us—this racialism—this human problem may become a very dangerous problem. This problem of racialism and racial separation may become more dangerous than any other problem that the world has to face. I should like the countries of Europe, America, Asia and Africa to realise that and not to imagine that we are putting up with these things that are

happening in Africa whether on the colonial plane or on the racial plane. They hurt us. Simply because we cannot do anything effective, and we do not want to cheapen ourselves by mere shouting, we remain quiet. But the thing has gone deep down into our minds and hearts. We feel it strongly. When we talk so lightly about other matters some of which are more important, it simply means that our standards are very different—what we consider important and what we consider less important.

I have referred to some of these matters briefly; I want to refer to some of our immediate problems—there is Goa; there is Ceylon. About Ceylon, I do not wish to go into these arguments because—whether it is Pakistan or whether it is Ceylon—these are neighbour countries and I think it is a bad thing for us to say words which hurt and which create more difficulties in the solution of the problem, to issue threats and the like.

The other day, in another connection, some hon. Members talked loosely about taking military action against Pakistan because of what is happening in East Bengal. All I can say is that those hon. Members who said so are—I say so with all respect—totally lacking in wisdom. I would even go further and say—common intelligence. It is not with a view to criticise anything that I want to say that.

In Ceylon we have been, I think, co-operating and patient. We go some way out to understand and to meet the difficulties of the Ceylon Government and the Ceylon people. But I must confess to a feeling of frustration that what we are aiming at is not realised. Just take some simple figures. I am giving you figures of the registration of people of Indian descent as Ceylon citizens. That is the main problem. Otherwise, these people become stateless. They are not Indian citizens unless by another process they are registered as Indian nationals. They are neither here nor there; they remain there because they cannot be thrown into the sea. We had agreed to register them—those people who are anxious to register themselves and who fulfilled our calculations according to our Constitution—as our citizens. And naturally, we pressed the Ceylon Government to go ahead with its registration too so that gradually this process might exhaust these people of Indian descent there. We hoped of course that a very large number would be registered as Ceylon citizens because they are really and in fact residents of Ceylon. Their fathers were born there and they live there. For nine months from December 1953, to September, 1954, the total number of persons registered in Ceylon was 7,505. The number of persons whose applications were rejected was 45,236. The proportion of registrations to rejections is very small, 7,500 to 45 thousand in nine months. Now, we come to the four months since September, last, that is October, 1954 to January, 1955. The total number of persons registered was twenty-one. and the total number of persons whose applications were rejected was 36,260. It is obvious that while previously not many were registered and a large number were rejected, now we have arrived at a stage when hardly any person is accepted: thirty-six thousand rejections in four months and twenty-one registered, which comes to about five and a quarter a month.

So far as our registration of Indian citizens goes, we have proceeded normally. I will give the figures. The number of applicants from January to December, 1954 was 8,000, and the number registered was 5,600. As a matter of fact there were no rejections. The rest are under scrutiny. So, thousands have been accepted. We have been going fairly fast.

At the last meeting of the Prime Ministers of India and Ceylon it was further decided that the Ceylon Government should prepare a list of all the people of Indian descent in Ceylon, in order to know—quite apart from deciding the final question whether they are Ceylon citizens or not,—to

[Shri Jawaharlal Nehru]

know who are there, because of their constant complaint that illegal immigrants came in; so let us know who are there. Because very often it so happened that a person who has been resident there for a long time was called an illegal resident. That list too has not yet been prepared.

Nevertheless, as I said to this House, and I would appeal to the House that in this matter and even in regard to the Pakistan matter our approach must continue to be a co-operative and friendly one, not giving up the principles we stand for.

I referred to Goa. The other day, hon. Members must have seen that some *satyagrahis*, so-called *satyagrahis* who went there, I think, on the 26th January, and who to my knowledge have not been accused of any violence or any kind of offence other than going there, which of course is a technical offence—I cannot complain if they are punished; if any person commits *satyagraha* he must not complain and nobody should complain on his behalf that he is punished; that is the inevitable consequence of *satyagraha*; otherwise it is not *satyagraha;* it is something else—I would not have objected if they were punished, but when those persons or some of them are sentenced to twenty-eight years of penal servitude it does shake one up. Some of them were sentenced to varying degrees of imprisonment, some were sentenced to twenty-eight years and to deportation to Portugal—not Portugal but perhaps to some of their penal colonies. That again, trying deliberately to use mild language, I call barbarous. It is really extraordinary that any government anywhere should behave in this way; much more so a government which because of our patience and good-will is allowed to remain in the corner of India. Remember this, and I want them to remember, I want the Government of Portugal to realise that they are there because we are patient and men of good-will; not because we cannot deal with the situation but because we think ahead, we see the world situation as it is, we do not wish to do something, even in a small way, indulging in violence etc. which may have bigger repercussions and all that. We are prepared to wait a little, because inevitably the end must be the one that we aim at. Our objective must be realised. It is inconceivable and impossible, and I do not care what other Powers in the world support Portugal, it is impossible for Portugal to imagine that they can remain in Goa.

I referred to other powers. There has not been much talk of this lately. But some time back some countries, on the basis of the N.A.T.O. alliance, mentioned Goa to us. They mentioned it in rather soft language, but they mentioned it. And immediately—apart from the fact that they had no business to mention it to us; if they had any business they ought to have gone and said something at Lisbon—another fact came out, and that is the wide tentacles of the N.A.T.O. alliance. The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation was made for defensive purposes of the North Atlantic countries. One of the tentacles of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation crossed these continents and seas and came to this continent of Asia, and to India—came a long way. Secondly, it came in order to defend a colonial territory in India. That did not do much good to the prestige of N.A.T.O. It showed that behind its other, perhaps, laudable objects there were some which were not so laudable and could be used for very wrong purposes.

I referred to Quemoy and Matsu. And almost every country, barring one or two, agrees that the islands of Quemoy and Matsu are a part of the mainland of China. Goa is not an island; Goa is the mainland of India; it is not even separated by a few miles of sea as Quemoy and Matsu are. And yet these arguments are

advanced, and this barbarous behaviour is indulged in.

In regard to Pakistan the House knows that the Prime Minister of Pakistan was to have come here on the 28th of this month. But then we decided to postpone this meeting for a variety of reasons—we were much too rushed and all that—and we are meeting now, after this Asian-African Conference, on the 14th May, in New Delhi. I have no doubt at all that the leaders of Pakistan, and more specially the Governor-General of Pakistan, are very anxious to settle Indo-Pakistan problems. I am anxious, and I am sure that this House is anxious, that there should be no interference in the way of settling these problems in a friendly way. I have still less doubt about the general good-will among the people of Pakistan and India towards each other. We have had some evidence of this recently, rather remarkable evidence, that whatever the people at the top may say or do, there is this basic good-will among the people. Our people went to Pakistan and they came here. Both these are very desirable things, very helpful. Yet it is true that the problems we have to face have not become easier by the passage of time. All kinds of things have happened in the course of these seven or eight years since Pakistan came into existence. And it is very very difficult to un-write history. We shall consider them. But we have to consider them in a realistic way, not ignoring what has happened. Among those big problems there is the problem of evacuee property, canal waters. So far as canal waters are concerned, we have been dealing with the World Bank for two years now or more. We have now arrived at a certain stage. It has been a slow, slow process. But, anyhow, we have made some progress. I think today or yesterday a joint mission arrived here, consisting of representatives of Engineers of the World Bank, of Engineers of Pakistan and of course, our own Engineers, who are going to visit various places in India in the Indus basin, and various places in Pakistan in the Indus basis and formulate plans more or less on the basis of the World Bank's recommendation which we had accepted and which Pakistan also had accepted. Anyhow, we are moving there although the movement has been remarkably slow. In regard to evacuee property, there has not been much movement. My colleague the Minister of Rehabilitation is going to Pakistan in four or five days time at their invitation to discuss these matters again.

1P.M.

There is a very big question, Kashmir. Perhaps,—why "perhaps"? —certainly, that is the most difficult of all these problems as between India and Pakistan,—I say problems between India and Pakistan, certainly. But, we must always remember that Kashmir is not a thing to be bandied about between India and Pakistan. It has a soul of its own; it has an individuality of its own. We cannot, certainly much less can Pakistan, play with it as if it were something in the political game between the two countries. Nothing can be done without the good-will of the people of Kashmir. I am not going into that.

But, I might say this. The House will be glad to know, if it does not know it already, that in recent months, there has been a very considerable, in fact a rather remarkable progress in Kashmir. Economically and otherwise, I doubt if Kashmir has been so prosperous—it is a relative term! I do not say it is prosperous; it is relatively prosperous—for many many long years as it is today. In regard to food, in regard to other things, in regard to many schemes that have been undertaken, they are just on the verge of yielding fruit. There is the Sind Valley Electric Works which will be extraordinarily useful in the whole valley of Kashmir, apart from lighting, for industrial and other purposes. The old power works at Mohra, constructed 40 or 50 years ago, are on the point of collapse. Then, we are starting the great project, the Banihal

[Shri Jawaharlal Nehru]

tunnel. The great work has started. It is really the numerous small projects that are bringing about a new atmosphere in the whole of the Jammu and Kashmir State. So that, the conditions are more satisfactory there either from the political or the economic point of view than they have been for a long time. I do not say that everything is 100 per cent. satisfactory. But, things are on the way.

The other day, I think, two Members of this House have sent me questions. I shall probably answer them in due course. The questions were about certain statements that the Prime Minister of Kashmir made the other day in his Assembly. I was asked if Sheikh Abdullah had communicated with me in regard to that statement. The statement as reported was that the Prime Minister of Kashmir, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed had in his possession correspondence, etc., which would throw light on many things that happened 1½ years ago, but he could not publish them because I or the Government of India came in his way. I do not remember his words; but, by and large, this is what he has said. On this I received a telegram from Sheikh Abdullah saying that he had seen the statement and that he would like publication of these papers or documents and he hoped that the Government of India would not come in the way.

All this, of course, relates to what happened about a year and a half or 2 years or 2½ years ago. I would say straight off that so far as the Government of India is concerned, so far as I am concerned, I do not wish to come in the way of the Government of Jammu and Kashmir in regard to this matter. I tried to refresh my memory. I may add that the report of Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed's speech in the papers, although broadly speaking, is this, it is not a correct report. Some sentences in between have been left out. However, broadly speaking, it is that. As I do not wish to come in the way of the discretion of the Jammu and Kashmir Government, they have to decide this. I have not got all these papers with me. I do not know what they are. I have some. My own correspondence with Sheikh Abdullah, I have got. Shri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai had some, as also Shri A. P. Jain and Maulana Azad: some correspondence and others. But, apart from correspondence, there were numerous talks. It is difficult to produce those talks. The correspondence itself relates to these talks. They are not there. It is difficult to form a picture of these events right from 1952 onwards and throughout 1953.

There is another aspect of this question which naturally concerns me and concerns the House. We are for, I hope all of us, friendly ways of settling problems and not adding to bitterness. How far the publication of the letters or reports of conversations 1½ or 2 years ago, charges and counter-charges, will help in producing that atmosphere which leads to a friendly settlement or come in the way of it, it is for the House to judge. Therefore, anyhow, I have left it to the Government of Jammu and Kashmir. I have not got all the papers. I have told them that I do not wish to come in the way. They may consider and publish if there are any.

One thing I should like to say, Hon. Members may remember, that on the 10th August, year before last, 1953, I made a statement here. That was one day or two days after Sheikh Abdullah's arrest. Then, I made a much longer statement a month later, I think on the 17th of September. I was reading the statement of the 17th September. There was much in it that, if I wanted to deal with this matter, I will repeat again. I would refer the hon. Members who are interested in the matter to this statement because I dealt with the situation that had then arisen at some length. Naturally, even then I tried to avoid saying anything which would worsen the situation. In regard to

one matter which I find is still raised often, charges are brought. These charges were brought recently again in the Kashmir Assembly about all kinds of horrible happenings in the valley of Kashmir after Sheikh Abdullah's arrest: that 1500 people were killed or massacred and all that. At that very time these charges were made, I took it upon myself to have a very full enquiry made, not through the Government of Kashmir, but through entirely our own people, intelligence people and others, completely independent. I have no doubt in my mind that the enquiry we made—it may not have been hundred per cent accurate, but it was 98 per cent accurate or very nearly so, I cannot say—has by and large resulted in confirming the figures which the Kashmir Government had published, and I think our figures and their figures were out by four or five. I pointed this out to the very persons who were making these tremendous charges of 1500 people killed and massacred. And it was a detailed report of each place, each village, containing the names etc. and everything in fact. I said, here is this report. Well, they had nothing to say. Now, a year afterwards, they again raise the same thing. I think that is highly improper, if they know—they ought to know—that the charges they make are false completely, *i.e.*, going on repeating them.

In the course of the next few days we are having a number of eminent visitors from abroad. They will be the Prime Minister of Egypt, the Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Afganistan: after that, we will have the Prime Minister of Sudan. Even earlier, that is in the next week or ten days, we are probably having—I am not quite certain —a deputation from the Government of South Viet Nam, the Foreign Minister of Viet Nam; I am not sure if recent happenings might not interfere with that visit. And a little later, we shall have a deputation from North Viet Nam, the democratic Republic of Viet Nam, and the Foreign Minister—all in the next eight or 3916 days. The House knows that prince of Cambodia came here. the Prime Minister of Cambodia and others.

All this puts additional burdens on us, responsibilities on us, and we can only discharge them with a thorough understanding and goodwill of this House.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee (Calcutta North-east): It is good to see the Prime Minister warm up in debate and to hear him say certain things which we can all applaud, but I fear that there are still certain somewhat pernicious bees in his bonnet, which he will have to discard before we can clasp him in the way so many of us wish to do.

[PANDIT THAKUR DAS BHARGAVA *in the Chair*]

I say this because I am happy we are meeting on the eve of the Bandung Conference, and the Prime Minister has said very clearly that it is for the Bandung Conference to place before the world certain ideas represented in the main by our *Panch Shila* which only in today's context can build that force which can guarantee peace to humanity. It is exactly there that we have to take a positive and firm stand. It is exactly when we think in terms of the *Panch Shila* that we have to discard our old notion, a notion which did us a great deal of harm in regard to our foreign policy in the period from 1948 to 1953, a notion that there are two war blocs in the world.

There is today only one war bloc in the world. There is another bloc, if you please, but that is a peace bloc, a bloc which is represented by countries like the Soviet Union or the People's Republic of China, who have come forward to say what is ancient history or what is very well-known to everybody, that the principles of *Panch Shila* are principles which they always apply in their relations with other countries, principles to which they are ready and willing at

[Shri ri H. N. Mukerjee]

tunnel. oment, if necessary to append It is reallgnature, if that is of any importance. And it is only the other side, the Anglo-American camp which is today making all these depredations on the human conscience, which makes the world situation so dangerous as the Prime Minister has said.

So, we have to make up our minds about it. And they know it very well, as the *New York Herald Tribune* wrote in January that in the Bandung Conference, the American Government and the Western European "democracies" will be judged by the peoples of Asia and Africa, because these people have been fighting for their freedom; some have achieved it, and some have not yet achieved it, and that is why their urge for freedom and peace is making them get together. It is this job which is most important, rallying Asia to this historic task, and it is this job which India has today, because India was the earliest prize of imperialist conquest and domination in this part of the world.

If we apply the principles of *Panch Shila* to the Asian context, what would happen? Apply it to the United States' position in Asia. These principles would require transfer of the Seventh Fleet from the Straits of Formosa, evacuation of the Ryukyu Islands, withdrawal from Korea and liquidation of military missions, bases and blocs in Asia. This is very important. What are we going to do about it? It is very important that we do something. The Prime Minister says that it is no good going about collecting signatures, but that it is very important to have moral force. Yes, of course; it is very important to have moral force. But how do we mobilise moral force? How do we employ moral force? How do we get together the minds and hearts of the people in one great endeavour, which is the greatest endeavour in the context of things today? And it is for that reason that the peace movement all over the world is so active; it is for that reason that we are having on behalf of the common peoples of the world an Asian conference in a very few days in Delhi; it is for that reason that we welcome the Conference at Bandung; and it is exactly for that reason that the Western democratic Powers are showing their fears of the Bandung Conference. They are frowning at the Bandung Conference, and they are doing all they can to sabotage the successful functioning of the Bandung Conference.

In regard to this principle of the *Panch Shila* again, how can we forget that in their words and in their actions the leaders of the war bloc today are repudiating the principles altogether? In an organ of the United States Chamber of Commerce, called *Nation's Business* of January 1955, Mr. John Foster Dulles said:

> "Co-existence is a tricky new word, a word to watch, a word of which to beware."

And he goes and makes a broadcast on the 8th March, where the purpose of enslaving the Asian peoples and dragging them into a U.S. engineered holocaust of war is absolutely clear. Some time ago, the Prime Minister referred to the speeches made by a certain person called Mr. Robertson, who was Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs in the United States Government. I find that on the 26th of January last year, there was a Congressional hearing, and he was giving evidence. He said in answer to a question from one of the members of the committee as follows. The question was:

> "Fundamentally does it not mean that the United States is undertaking to maintain for an indefinite period of years American domination in the Far East?"

To that, Mr. Robertson replied, "yes, exactly." Exactly, that is what the Americans want today. The American Government knows about it. So today it is not merely a matter of words. They are behaving in

a fashion which has got to be stopped. That is why it is important that the Bandung Conference represents that moral force which certainly these engineers of perversity will not be able to defy with impunity.

The treaty with Chiang Kai-Shek which the United States has lately entered into; the latest in a vile chain, is an unashamed assault on Asian freedom, a fraud on human conscience of the sort which the United States rulers, bloated with big money, appear able to practise with impunity. But that impunity will have to be shown up as the absolutely senseless phantom that it is by the proceedings of the Bandung Conference, and by the activities of the peoples of Asia in particular.

We know of the danger that SEATO is. I need not go into all that because the Prime Minister himself realises it. But what I mean is that, after all, today it is no good repeating what was said by the Government for so many years, namely, that there are two power blocs, we do not choose between them, we follow a different path altogether. How is it that we go on saying this same thing over and over again? How is it that we say that a group of countries, friendly countries, who are willing and ready to enter into the closest possible relationships with one another, a group of countries which wants to abjure altogether the employment—present and potential—of all weapons of mass extermination, of the sort of atom bombs and nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons, a group of countries which is willing to start here and now with disarmament, by whatever stages is found to be practicable in the conditions of today, how is it that this set of countries which is adhering to the principles of *Panch Shila* is thought by us to be more or less on the same level as the Anglo-American power bloc. I do not see today how the Prime Minister thinks that the Soviet Union or People's China are more or less in the same position as the United States of America. But perhaps, I have a suspicion, there are among his party, if not he himself, some who have an idea that, may be the Americans sometimes behave rather badly, but the British Government is different. How is the British Government different? The British Government lately has shown its teeth. The British Government lately has sanctioned and approved of the idea of the manufacture of hydrogen bombs and all that kind of thing. I find the *New York Times* in its issue of the 22nd March this year, referring to a letter which Churchill wrote to Mendes-France on the 12th January 1955, in which he referred to the fact that the United States, with its massive superiority in nuclear weapons and with the assistance of the United Kingdom, the British Commonwealth and its *other allies* can give stability and peace to France and that, therefore, France should come into that conspiracy to unleash war on the peoples by the rearming of Western Germany. This kind of emphasis which Britain puts without any kind of hesitation about it, regarding the line which she is going to take, should make us chary and prevent us from going the same way. I do not mind Sir Anthony Eden or anybody coming to this country to see the lie of things, to have a chat with other important people in the world arena and that kind of thing. But there is nothing in common between us, and that is why the Prime Minister has to say certain things, which we all share, in regard to what is happening in South Africa. Here again, I find the Prime Minister's department was good enough—rather late—to supply us with the report of the work of the External Affairs Ministry which we got only yesterday, in which I find at page 24 a sentence which is very ironic. It refers to "the declared policy of the Government of United Kingdom in regard to British colonies" being "the advancement of all communities.....and the avolution of a multi-racial and fully integrated society progressively moving forward towards

[Shri H. N. Mukerjee]

self-government and equal partnership in the Commonwealth", and adds:

> "The Government of India have welcomed the formulation of this policy and are watching with interest its implementation".

This is an essay in irony and as far as that goes, I am willing to give a prize to it. But if this is supposed to be a statement in a factual report then, naturally, I have my grouse. It is said on page 23:

> "The state of emergency proclaimed in Kenya in October 1952, following..."—

Mind the word "following"—

> "the outbreak of violent activities on the part of the members of the Kikiyu tribe, continued during the year under review".

And then a little later it is said:

> "The Government of India... wish to see this spiral of violence and counter-violence broken speedily".

This "spiral of violence and counter-violence"! The British Government is not to blame! Their counter-violence in Kenya was due to the violence of the Kikiyu tribes. This is most amazing. How is it that we say this kind of thing? In regard to Malaya, our Government virtually takes up the position that what is happening in Malaya is not the desire of the people of Malaya for a different kind of life, for freedom, which everybody hungers and thirsts for, but that it is banditry and that sort of thing. Is that our attitude? It cannot be our attitude. It is not in line with the rest of our foreign policy. If that is so, something must be wrong. How are we going to tell the world, 'here is a foreign policy which we can applaud without any kind of qualification' as long as we have this kind of inhibition, as long as this kind of contradiction and inconsistency which is too glaring for words is there in the picture?

We have found particularly in regard to the question of the banning of atomic and nuclear weapons how today all over the world there is a growing realisation of the utterest menace which these weapons represent, and how people as different and as similar in some ways, as General MacArthur in the United States of America and Shri C. Rajagopalachari in India express themselves very unequivocally against the employment of this kind of weapons. But what exactly is the attitude of Britain? What exactly is the attitude of the United States? It is exactly this kind of question which is the lynchpin of the entire world situation.

The Prime Minister has referred to the Middle East. We know very well how, strategically speaking, there is no area of the world which perhaps is more important than the Middle East. In the Middle East, the American conspiracy has been going on very merrily, and we know how many of those countries which are coming to the Bandung Conference are today being seared and agonised because of the intervention of these imperialist agencies in this vital area of the world. I shall quote from the *New York Times* of the 12th September 1954, where one Mr. Robert C. Doty reporting from Cairo, said:

> "Leaders of the major Middle Eastern States clearly have contracted marriage, strategically speaking, with the Western camp...To push the image one step further, it was necessary to take into account the fact that the West sought to marry not just one Middle Eastern bride but a whole haremful, all of whom viewed the prospect difficulty. The reluctance to hold hands might be a cause for genuine alarm, if it were a question of a love match. But since it was clearly nothing

of the sort, but was instead a classic marriage of convenience and mutual interest that was in prospect, those who helped to arrange it were reasonably confident that it would go through and endure".

This kind of machination is going on. The Dulles plan to secure the "roof" or "crust" of the Middle East is not only directed against the Soviet Union on its periphery, but is directed also at gaining domination over the rich treasure-house within. We know also how our nearest neighbour, Pakistan, has been a very close item of attention from these people. General Van Fleet, Commander of the United States Eighth Army in Korea, came to Pakistan for a fortnight's visit on the 28th February; then Admiral Radford of the United States, and the British Chief of Staff, General Harding,—who also came here—and Turkish Generals came. They attended the biggest ever military manoeuvres in Pakistan at Rawalpindi. The Turkish President also came. Pakistan is being developed, as you all know, as a kind of US base so that it may be a loaded pistol aimed at the heart of India. I say so because we know very well what happens when the people of India and Pakistan meet, as during cricket test match in Lahore. We know very well how people feel. We know very well how our two peoples want fraternisation. They want to come together. But the whole position is bedevilled by the intervention of these imperialist machinations, and that is something which is the most important aspect of the matter.

Now, I feel that this Government has so many illusions still left in regard to France. For example, I find from this report that France was very wise and so gave up the French Possessions in India without any trouble, but that Portugal is a little worse than that. That is all nonsense. France left only because the people in the French Possessions showed their teeth, their determination. What is happening in Goa? The Prime Minister has referred to Goa. I have got a sheaf of questions and answers in either House of Parliament which show very clearly that in Goa we are pursuing a policy which is absolutely unintelligible. The Prime Minister says he is not going to do a single thing which will jeopardise the present international situation. The Prime Minister says a thing which may look very small, but, may be, it will affect the international situation in a bad way. But I do not understand this. The people of Goa and the people of India who are neighbours of the people of Goa, who are brethren in every sense of the term, want to come together and push out this Portuguese imposter. That is the only thing at issue. Neither decency, nor discretion, nor democracy, nor patriotism, nor any other consideration can stand in the way of the Government of India lifting the ban which it reiterated the other day in answer to a question, the ban on Indian nationals going to the assistance of their own people in Goa in order to push out the portuguese oppressor. This is something which is happening and this is because of the peculiar ideas which the Prime Minister still possesses in regard to this transfer of power which has happened from British hands and from French hands.

I want also to draw attention to a question asked in the other House in regard to 63 French Indians who had applied to the French authorities for service in the French Army. And, the answer was that pending *de jure* transfer of the French possessions in India to India, we cannot stop these people who are technically French nationals from Joining the French Army. This is a continuance of the old colonial regime, this is something which we, in our country, cannot tolerate. After all, our nationals who are living in Pondicherry or elsewhere are not mercenaries who can join any force. This is how these people are driven to do such things which encourage French colonial rule. In connection with Pondicherry also, this

[Shri H. N. Mukerjee]

matter came up when certain supplementaries were presented on behalf of the Government and certain things were said by Government. I know also that the Deputy Minister for External Affairs went to Pondicherry a few days ago. He was given certain information in regard among other things to the Municipal Commission, that it is being manned by unspeakable people in whom the citizens of that area have no confidence whatever and they demand that if there are going to be free and fair elections, there should be some kind of neutral executive set-up to supervise the conditions till the real elections take place.

I know also that the attitude of the police has come in for a great deal of criticism from the people of Pondicherry, particularly in relation to a strike which happened in the Bharati Mills in Pondicherry. And, over this, a lot of information, I am sure, has been handed over to the Deputy Minister for External Affairs. We feel that it is necessary that the people in Pondicherry should get the idea that a new change has really come over the conditions of things there, but it has not. Those people who were the stooges of the French regime are today being ensconced in power and the position is being aggravated by police repression on top of that.

I wish also to refer to another matter which I consider quite important. We get a stream of foreign experts coming into this country in various guises. There was, for example, a person called Sydney D. Ripley, who was Director of Operations for South East Asia in the Office of Strategic Services during the War and this office was later merged into the Central Intelligence Group in 1946. If you look at any book on American Intelligence Service like Sherman King's *Strategic Intelligence for American World Policy* you will know how these people are utilised in a number of ways in different parts of the world for espionage purposes. Now this man Dr. Ripley, has certain biological or some other academic qualification and he went to Nepal ostensibly in search of some rare birds. He wrote in the *National Geographical Magazine* that sumptuous, quasi-scientific organ, on *Peerless Nepal*. And this January he has written again on *Naga land*. This fellow who has been in the American Intelligence Service goes all over the country and he and his like have the freedom of our land.

Lately, two very responsible journals, the *National Herald* of Lucknow and the *Times of India* have referred to certain operations of the American experts in villages in U.P., where in the name of research on sociology, under the auspices of bodies like the Ford Foundation etc. about which I had occasion to warn Government some time ago, things are happening which are extremely dangerous. The *Times of India*, for example, on the 12th March, said that there is something more to the activities of these American experts than mere research. The Lecturers and Readers of Political Science in the Lucknow University have also written to say that they disapprove of these people going about and asking all sorts of very suspicious questions from the villagers. Dr. D. N. Mazumdar, Head of the Department of 'Anchropology in Lucknow University, gave a Press statement on the 18th March demanding that such research studies in India should be taken off the hands of foreigners. He said that it is time we seriously consider the advisability of winding up this kind of social research altogether. Now, I have no time to go into the details of this matter but this kind of so-called research is going on all the time.

I wish also to refer to the feeling about foreign "experts" which was voiced only yesterday in the course of the debate on the Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research. I think it was Mr. Diwan who mentioned case after case of foreign experts whose misbehaviour has been extremely suspicious. In this

connection, a letter was written by a Joint Secretary of the Finance Ministry—I have got his name here, but I shall not mention it—a letter in which he told our own experts, our own technicians that they should receive the foreign experts in a more friendly fashion. In this letter sent by the Joint Secretary of the Finance Ministry to different Government Departments, it is said that any initial hostility on the part of Indian technical officers who have to work under these foreign experts is, to some extent, understandable, but if the Indian technicians are properly advised before-hand, they would probably welcome the presence of these foreign experts. A letter has to be written by the Joint Secretary to ensure that a very good welcome is given to these foreign "experts".

We warned Government regarding the American experts, the so-called experts of the U.N. and other representatives, operating in Kashmir and it took Government a lot of time to realise the danger of the situation. The Government took some steps, though tardily and very gradually, in a half-hearted fashion. They took about 15 months for the complete evacuation of the American personnel from the Kashmir area.

These matters are of very great importance. I wish also to refer to the attitude of leading Congress spokesmen towards countries like the Soviet Union or the People's Republic of China who are trying to uphold the principles of the *Panch Shila* and have been upholding the principles of *Panch Shila* throughout. There is glib talk by very responsible representatives of the Congress party, particularly at election time, talks which amount to slandering and maligning of the peoples of these countries. I have had to go about in different parts of the country rebutting such fantastic and puerile and disgusting allegations as the nationalisation of women in the Soviet Union and the repetition of the same kind of thing in the People's Republic of China. I know how certain Members have spoken in this House itself, especially that the Soviet Steel Project is something of which we have to be very cautious because through the Soviet Steel Project communist influence is going to percolate into this country, according to them.

Dr. S. N. Sinha (Saran East): It is wrong.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: In our attempt to praise the *Panch Shila* it is necessary that we do not malign the people of those countries which are trying today to pursue the path of peace, which are striving all they can in a common endeavour in spreading the ideals of peace. As far as our relations with foreign countries, where trade and commerce are concerned, let us try to compare the kind of agreement which we have entered into with Krupp Demag and the Stanvac and the agreement that we have entered into with the Soviet Union or China or Czechoslovakia and then we can find out what is what. Then we can find out with which countries we can be friendly, consistently with the interests of our people. That is why I say that there is a vital dichotomy in the Prime Minister's mind. I am sorry that he is not here, but if he were here he would be irritated and that would lead us nowhere. There is a kind of impatience with him. He says he may be wrong but he never says he is wrong. I ask him to try and think if there is any contradiction in his policy which is causing havoc it may not be here and now, but possible havoc in the near future. Why is it that our present policy is not producing results? Why is it that we have to hear in this House as well as outside speeches maligning those countries with whom we can and should very well be friendly? When we attack the policies and actions of the American Government, we never attack the American people; on the contrary, we say that the people, whether they live in America or Timbuctoo, are the same and their desires and aspirations basically are the same. Every time

[Shri H. N. Mukerjee]

however, the hon. and gallant Senator from Saran for example, speaks in this House, he talks in a manner which suggests that we single out certain people in order to attack and malign them.

We have never said, and we do not say, that we should belong to this bloc or the other; we say, on the contrary, that there is one war bloc and there is another combination of friendly countries. We do not say "Let us join the Soviet or China in a military or political alliance." But let us have cultural, commercial and other contacts; let us proceed on terms of mutual benefit and self-respect and let our relations with all be on a friendly, and human basis. That is the essense of co-existence and that is the principal crux of the matter. Who are willing to co-exist in the world today on terms of mutual respect for each other? That is why I am very unhappy when I see in the Ministry's report—there are many good things in it and some of the extracts from the Prime Minister's speeches warm your heart—some extracts of the speech which the Prime Minister made here last September, as far as I remember, in which he said—and he also hinted at it in his speech today—that there are *sub rosa* communist activities and "subversion" and so on and so forth and people are afraid. What is this "subversion"? Subversion can only become a reality when the people desire a change and there is no other way out but subverting the social order. You have biblical and other sanction for overturning; but I am not going into that. If the people do not want a big change, subversion is nothing. You might ignore it completely if the people's sanction is not behind it, but if there is a real, deep-seated move from the people themselves, would you call it subversion? What is the good of talking in this fashion? If you get evidence against any country regarding interference in the affairs of this country, by all means expose it, by all means fight it out and by all means root it out. Do not talk in general terms about subversion being practised in the interests of an international movement. We are always the target and we are told that we are an international movement. We do not make a secret of it. Of course, we are an international movement. Even the nationalist movement has been in a way an international movement. Every movement which is linked with the real life conditions of the people has necessarily got to be an international movement on account of the basic similarity of human needs, but an international movement does not mean that it is directed mechanically, dogmatically and rigidly from one country, from one particular spot, and so, everywhere, the same process and the same techniques are pursued. On the contrary, while communism is certainly an international movement, difrent countries have different objective environments and it is in that context that communism expresses itself. How that is to be done is the business of the people themselves in different countries. That is the position, and it is simple, for the profoundest things are the simplest things. The Prime Minister, I am sure, knows in his heart of hearts that that is the position, but he cannot come forward he is inhibited somewhere; he feels a spiritual strangulation somewhere; he is unable to shed the link-up he has had with Anglo-America. That is why even in regard to Goa, where the people are undergoing tortures at the hands of the unspeakable Portuguese, our Government is so hesitant. It is good to hear the Prime Minister warm up occasionally, but it is not the few good things that are held out that counts, but we should see why and where contradictions and inconsistencies in Government's foreign policy exist. That is why we said that if really we were to get that moral force which will ensure peace and freedom for the world, surely then in our own country we can pursue a policy which will detach Asia from the tentacles of American imperialism,

which today is trying to drown us in agony and servility. Today, the imperialists are ready and willing to go to the utterest lengths of villainy in order to perpetuate their domination. Let us make all the world realise, let us firmly voice our views in the coming Afro-Asian Conference so that the whole world will know that Asia and Africa whose people have borne the brunt of man's misery and agony for millennia have risen today as never before and nothing can stop their progress towards happiness and peace.

सेठ गोविन्द दास (मंडला--जबलपुर---दक्षिण): श्री हीरेन मुकर्जी का भाषण सुन कर मुझे ऐसा जान पड़ा कि उनका वही पुराना राग है जो अब तक रहा है; हां, उस राग में स्वर का थोड़ा सा अन्तर जरूर हुआ है। पहले वे हमारे प्रधान मंत्री की वैदेशिक नीति की हर प्रकार से निन्दा किया करते थे, अब जब उन्होंने देखा कि जहां से उनका दल प्रेरित होता है, रूस और चीन, वहां भी हमारी वैदेशिक नीति की प्रशंसा होने लगी है, तब उनके स्वर में थोड़ा सा अन्तर आया है। अब वे यह कहते हैं, और बड़े आश्चर्य की बात उन्होंने आज कही, कि हमारे प्रधान मंत्री तो अपनी वैदेशिक नीति के अनुसरण के सम्बन्ध में ठीक ही कर रहे होंगे, लेकिन हमारे प्रधान मंत्री को अपने साथियों का कुछ अधिक खयाल है। प्रधान मंत्री से हट कर अब श्री हीरेन मुकर्जी उनके साथियों पर आये हैं। उनकी आज की बात सुन कर मुझे सन् १९२० और १९३० के असहयोग और सत्याग्रह आन्दोलनों की याद आ गई। उस समय अंग्रेज सरकार इसी प्रकार की बात कहा करती थी कि गांधी जी बहुत अच्छे आदमी हैं, गांधी जी की नीति बिलकुल ठीक है, अपनी नीति का वे ठीक प्रकार से अनुसरण करते हैं, लेकिन उनके आस पास के जो लोग हैं, उनके जो साथी हैं, वे गड़बड़ किया करते हैं। उन साथियों में हमारे देश का जिन्होंने निर्माण किया, वे सब थे। हमारे आज के प्रधान मंत्री, हमारे आज के राष्ट्रपति, स्वर्गीय सरदार वल्लभ भाई पटेल, पंडित मोतीलाल नेहरू, देशबन्धु दास, इस प्रकार के सब लोगों की ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेंट जिस प्रकार निन्दा किया करती थी और कहा करती थी कि गांधी जी तो ठीक आदमी हैं, उनके साथी बुरे हैं, वही स्वर श्री हीरेन मुकर्जी का होता जा रहा है। किन्तु यह मैं स्वीकार करूंगा कि अब धीरे धीरे शायद उनमें कुछ समझ आ रही है और जब कुछ समझ आती है तब थोड़ी उन्नति भी होने लगती है।

डा० एस० एन० सिंह : वह समझ अभी नहीं आई।

सेठ गोविन्द दास : उन्होंने यहां पर हमारी वैदेशिक नीति की असफलता के कुछ दृष्टान्त दिये। उन्होंने गोआ के सम्बन्ध में बहुत कुछ कहा। मैं उन्हें याद दिलाता हूं कि जो आज वे गोआ के सम्बन्ध में कह रहे हैं, वही बात वे फ्रांसीसी बस्तियों के विषय में कहा करते थे। जिस समय फ्रांसीसी बस्तियों का प्रश्न हल नहीं हुआ था उस समय फ्रांसीसी बस्तियों के सम्बन्ध में हमारी जो नीति थी, वह भी उन्हें पसन्द नहीं थी, परन्तु उन्हें देखना चाहिए कि आखिर फ्रांसीसी बस्तियों के प्रश्न का हल हमारी नीति के अनुसार ही हुआ। मैं उनसे कहना चाहता हूं कि गोआ के प्रश्न का हल भी, जिस ढंग से वे सोचते हैं और जो बात वे हमें करने को कहते हैं, उससे होने वाला नहीं है। उस का हल भी हमारी नीति के अनुसार ही होगा।

मैं सदा एक बात कहा करता हूं। कुछ चीजें ऐसी हैं जिन में हमें दलगत राजनीति को छोड़ कर कुछ ऊपर उठने की आवश्यकता है। कुछ बातें ऐसी हैं जिन को हम ऊपर उठ कर और सब मिल कर कर सकते हैं। हमारी वैदेशिक नीति भी एक ऐसा ही प्रश्न है। हमारी वैदेशिक नीति का सब दल इस देश में अनुसरण कर सकते हैं बशर्ते कि वे दल शान्ति चाहते हों, समर न चाहते हों।

जहां तक हमारी वैदेशिक नीति के सिद्धान्तों का सवाल है, आप जानते हैं, सभापति महोदय, कि मैं ने सदा उस का समर्थन किया है। इस समर्थन का कारण यह है कि हमारी वैदेशिक नीति हमारी भारत संस्कृति के सिद्धान्तों के

[सेठ गोविन्द दास]

अनुसार हैं । हम ने सदा "वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम्" के सिद्धान्त का अनुसरण किया हैं । हम ने कभी एक को शत्रु और दूसरे को मित्र नहीं समझा । हम आज भी उसी नीति का अनुसरण करते हैं । गांधी जी ने उस नीति को हमारे सामने एक नये ढंग से रक्खा और इस समय की परिस्थिति के अनुसार जिस ढंग से गांधी जी ने उस नीति को हमारे सामने रक्खा, उसी ढंग से हमारे प्रधान मंत्री उस का अनुसरण कर रहे हैं । एक अन्तर अवश्य हो गया हैं । पहले जब हम परतन्त्र थे उस समय भी हम अपने सिद्धान्तों को रखते थे और स्वतंत्र होने के बाद भी हम अपने सिद्धान्तों को रखते रहे । परन्तु जिस आवाज में हम उस समय अपने सिद्धान्तों को रखते थे जब हम पराधीन थे, या कुछ समय पूर्व हम उन सिद्धान्तों को जिस आवाज में रखते थे, उस की अपेक्षा अब हमारी आवाज कहीं अधिक बलशाली हो गई हैं । आज हम कहने लगे हैं, हमने अभी थोड़े दिन पहले ही स्पष्ट शब्दों में यह कहा हैं, कि एक तो हम किसी भी युद्ध के विरुद्ध हैं और यदि कोई युद्ध हुआ तो भारत उस में शामिल होने वाला नहीं हैं । पहले हम ने इतने स्पष्ट शब्दों में इस बात को नहीं कहा था । दूसरी बात हम यह कहने लगे हैं कि इन अणु बमों और इन उद्जन बमों का विनाश होना आवश्यक हैं । उन का रहना ही हमारे संसार की शान्ति के लिये बाधक हैं । हम ने इस बात को भी पहले ऐसी आवाज में नहीं कहा था । हमारे जो पंचशील सिद्धान्त हैं उन सिद्धान्तों के सम्बन्ध में आज हमारे प्रधान मंत्री ने बिल्कुल ठीक बात कही कि यदि कोई शान्ति चाहता हैं तो उसे इन सिद्धान्तों को स्वीकार करना ही होगा । इन सिद्धान्तों को मंजूर किये बिना हम इस बात को सिद्ध नहीं कर सकते कि हम यथार्थ में शान्ति चाहते हैं ।

फिर हम एक बात और देखें । आज हम देखते हैं कि हमारे स्वर में संसार के लोग भी स्वर मिला रहे हैं । पहले जो बात हमारे प्रधान मंत्री कहते हैं, दुनियां के दूसरे लोग भी उस का समर्थन करते हैं । हम ने अभी देखा कि जब चीन के प्रधान मंत्री श्री चाउ-एन-लाई भारत में आये तो उन्होंने जो कुछ हमारे प्रधान मंत्री ने कहा उस का समर्थन किया । यूगोस्लाविया से जब मार्शल टीटो भारत आये तो उन्होंने जो कुछ हमारे प्रधान मंत्री ने कहा उस का समर्थन किया । सर एंथनी ईडन ने इतने स्पष्ट शब्दों में तो उस का समर्थन नहीं किया पर यदि आप उन के वक्तव्यों को भी देखें तो दबे शब्दों में उन्होंने भी उस का समर्थन किया हैं ।

श्री साधन गुप्त (कलकत्ता—दक्षिण पूर्व) : तब वह सीटो में नहीं होते ।

सेठ गोविन्द दास : फिर एशिया और अफ्रीका की हाल ही में परिषद होने वाली हैं । मैं सदा कहता रहा हूं कि संसार का भविष्य अब एशिया और अफ्रीका पर निर्भर हैं । मेरा विश्वास हैं कि इन पंचशील सिद्धान्तों का एशिया और अफ्रीका की यह परिषद भी समर्थन करने वाली हैं । अमरीका ने अब तक इस सम्बन्ध में कुछ नहीं कहा हैं, इस बात को मैं स्वीकार करता हूं, लेकिन यदि अमरीका भी शान्ति चाहता हैं, अमरीका भी यह चाहता हैं कि युद्ध न हो, तो उस को भी आज नहीं तो कल और कल नहीं तो परसों इन सिद्धान्तों को स्वीकार करना होगा ।

दुनिया की और हमारी स्थिति क्या हैं, इस विषय में भी अभी हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी ने कहा हैं । पूर्व में फारमोसा का प्रश्न बड़ा महत्वपूर्ण प्रश्न हैं, वह प्रश्न हमारे लिये चिन्ता उत्पन्न कर रहा हैं । पश्चिम में जर्मनी का प्रश्न बहुत महत्वपूर्ण हैं, वह भी हमारे लिये चिन्ता उत्पन्न कर रहा हैं । परन्तु इन प्रश्नों के बावजूद भी आज मैं इस बात को मानता हूं, और दुनिया भी इस बात को मानती हैं कि निकट भविष्य में कोई बड़ी भारी युद्ध की सम्भावना नहीं हैं ।

हमारे छोटे छोटे मसले अवश्य रह गये हैं, पाकिस्तान के और हमारे सम्बन्ध अभी तक वैसे मैत्रीपूर्ण नहीं हो सके जैसे कि होने चाहियें । कश्मीर का प्रश्न भी मौजूद हैं । गोआ का सवाल

भी हमारे सामने हैं । किन्तु मेरा विश्वास है कि यदि सिद्धान्तों के अनुसार हमारी नीति ठीक है तो जिस प्रकार फ्रांसीसी बस्तियों का निपटारा हुआ या दूसरी चीजों का निपटारा हुआ, उसी प्रकार इन चीजों का भी निपटारा होने वाला है ।

आज के संसार के वायुमंडल को आप देखें, हमारे देश के वायुमंडल को आप देखें, और आप देखें कि संसार के अन्य देशों के वायुमंडल और हमारे देश के वायुमंडल में कितना अन्तर है । आज तमाम दुनिया दो दलों में विभक्त है । आप कहीं जायें, मैं ने अनेक बार बाहर जा कर देखा, सारे देश आज युद्ध के भय से त्रस्त हैं, युद्ध के आतंक से कांप रहे हैं, लेकिन इस प्रकार का वायुमंडल आप को हमारे देश में नहीं दिखता। क्यों नहीं दिखता ? इस लिये नहीं दिखता कि तमाम दुनिया इस बात को स्वीकार कर रही है, जो देश दोनों दलों में विभक्त हैं, वे भी कभी खुले शब्दों में और कभी कुछ दबे शब्दों में इस बात को मंजूर करते हैं कि यथार्थ में भारतवर्ष शान्ति चाहता है । दुनिया आज हमारी ओर देख रही है संसार के दो ही भविष्य हो सकते हैं, या तो इस संसार का नाश होने वाला है या उन्नति । जिस समय बारूद विस्फोटक पदार्थ के रूप में ईजाद हुई थी उस समय कोई यह नहीं जानता था, किसी को यह कल्पना नहीं थी, किसी ने स्वप्न में सोचा तक नहीं था कि यह विस्फोटक पदार्थ आगे चल कर अणु बम और उदजन बम के रूप में आ जायेगा । यदि हिंसा की यही अवस्था रही तो आगे चल कर ऐसा बम भी बन सकता है जिस से इस भूमंडल, हमारे इस प्लैनेट के ही टुकड़े टुकड़े हो जायें । हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी ने अभी कहा, और बिल्कुल ठीक कहा, कि इस प्रकार की हिंसा का मुकाबला हिंसा नहीं कर सकती इस प्रकार की हिंसा का मुकाबला तो अहिंसा ही कर सकती है । तो हम जिस सिद्धान्त को मानते हैं, उस सिद्धान्त पर चल रहे हैं, और दुनिया आज उस सिद्धान्त को मानने लगी है । मैं कुछ ऐसे सुझावों को भी पेश करना चाहता हूं जिन को कार्य रूप में परिणत करने से शायद हमारी नीति और अधिक सफल हो सकेगी ।

हमारे लिये यह जरूरी है कि हम एक दूसरे को ध्यान पूर्वक समझने का प्रयत्न करें तथा एक दूसरे को सहानुभूति पूर्वक समझने के बाद कुछ बातों को कार्य रूप में परिणत करने की कोशिश करें । इस विषय में मेरे कुछ सुझाव हैं । शिक्षा विभाग में विद्यार्थियों और शिक्षकों का आदान-प्रदान होना चाहिये । सांस्कृतिक क्षेत्र में विद्वानों और कलाकारों का आदान-प्रदान होना चाहिये । वैज्ञानिक क्षेत्र में कृषि, उद्योग, चिकित्सा और विज्ञान सम्बन्धी सभी क्षेत्रों के विशेषज्ञों का आदान-प्रदान होना चाहिये । वाणिज्य और व्यापार के क्षेत्र में परस्पर लाभ के लिये आयात-निर्यात आदि की वृद्धि का भी प्रयत्न होना चाहिये । इसी प्रकार के और भी कई उपाय निकाले जा सकते हैं जिन से कि हमारी वैदेशिक नीति व्यवहार में आ सकती है और हम इस दिशा में सफल हो सकते हैं ।

अन्त में मैं आप से एक ही बात और कहूंगा। वह यह कि अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय क्षेत्र में हमारी भाषा का प्रयोग हो । मैंने यू० एन० ओ० में देखा कि चार भाषाओं का उपयोग होता है : अंगरेजी, फ्रांसीसी, स्पैनिश और रशियन । यदि इन चार भाषाओं का वहां पर प्रयोग होता है तो हम इस बात की भी कोशिश करें कि हिन्दी भाषा, जो कि इस २६ करोड़ वाले देश की भाषा है, जिस को हम ने राजभाषा स्वीकार कर लिया है, का भी प्रयोग यू० एन० ओ० में हो । हिन्दी भाषा को भी वह स्थान मिले जो कि संसार की अन्य अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय भाषाओं को प्राप्त है ।

मैं ने सदा अपनी वैदेशिक नीति का समर्थन किया है, आज फिर मैं उस का समर्थन करता हूं, और अपने मित्र हीरेन मुकर्जी से कहता हूं कि अभी उन में जरा और अधिक समझ आने की आवश्यकता है तथा उस समझ के अनुसार उन्हें अपनी एवं अपने दल की उन्नति करने की जरूरत है ।

2 P.M.

Shri Raghuramaiah (Tenali): As usual I was expecting some heat in Prof. Mukerjee's speech.

But, to confess frankly, I did not expect so much heat. It is generated

[Shri Raghuramaiah]

oftentimes during the election; sometimes it is generated after elections also. And this seems to be a case of heat after election.

My friend had referred to some Congressmen abusing other countries during the election campaign. Obviously, it must be the recent Andhra election and he has probably in mind the speeches of some Congressmen during that election.

An Hon. Member: Including yourself.

Shri Raghuramaiah:.....including yourself? But I do not think that he would mention my name in that context because he knows that I would never make such speeches maligning a whole people. It would have helped us a lot if he said as to who maligned whom.

The real truth is Mr. Mukerjee is anxious to undo, if I may so call it, the mischief which the Secretary of the Communist Party seems to have done yesterday at his Press Conference. There are glaring contradictions between what Mr. Ajoy Ghosh said then and what Mr. Mukerjee said this morning. Mr. Ghose was at great pains to point out that the Communist Party of India has no extra-territorial connections so much so. I believe a Pressman put a question to him: "Why do not you say we have got nothing to do with the Soviet Union or China; we are purely a national party or something like that?" Lest any wrong impression be left by that, now Shri Mukerjee is anxious to make it clear to this House as well as to the entire Indian electorate that the Communist Party has always been and will always be —I do not want to use the word 'stooge', because it is rather an awkward expression; sometimes my friends on that side use it but I do not use it myself—an international party. In other words it is part and parcel of an organisation which has its moorings outside this country.....

Shri N. B. Chowdhury (Ghatal): Not a party; but a movement.

Shri Raghuramaiah: What is it? You need not be so anxious. I only tried to explain what he said very cryptically. What is the meaning of 'international party'? It means it is a party which has no moorings in this country.

Shri Nambiar (Mayuram): Who said so?

Shri Raghuramaiah: I say so; you will admit it tomorrow. What do you mean by an international party, that it is not a national party?

Shri K. K. Basu .. (Dimond Harbour): Do not misquote.

Shri Raghuramaiah: I will try to explain what you have left. I do not think that you will deny it. If it is not a national party, and it is an international party, what does it mean? That means that you have some moorings outside this country.

An Hon. Member: No, no.

Shri Raghuramaiah:. You can say whatever you like.

Shri Nambiar: It is a statement of fact.

Shri Raghuramaiah: The other important point which Shri Mukerjee was obviously anxious to clear up was the remarkable admission made by the Secretary of the Communist Party, yesterday. He is reported to have said: "The Central Committee of the Communist Party noted that one of the important drawbacks of the Party in the election campaign was its not placing before the people with sufficient emphasis the important part that India was playing in recent times in the international arena in favour of world peace." In the normal course, I expected Mr. Mukerjee to follow it up and tell this House in nice words: "After all, we have understood our mistakes in the past; now I am very happy to support the foreign policy of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. That policy had earned t

great place for India in the international field and today it is one of the pillars of world peace." The Communist Party is noted for its discipline and so I thought Shri Mukerjee would toe that line. But I find him almost in the same old tract of thought.

He has found fault with the reference to Russia as one of the war blocks. He wants us to say that the Russian bloc is not a war bloc but a peace bloc. If the Russian bloc is a peace bloc and the American bloc is the only war bloc, I suppose by saying that India is helping world peace, the Communist Party means to suggest that India is already in the Russian bloc. That is not the way in which they can take India into the Russian bloc. I do not think we are prepared to go into any bloc. That again shows the essential difference between the approach made by the Communist Party and by ourselves. Some times our policies may be allied, for instance it is so in respect of China. But I think the policy adumberated by the Communist Party known the world over is to support anything and everything that Russia and China do; we do not subscribe to that. Whatever Russia may do or whatever China may do, only in so far as it is in agreement with our views and world peace, we are with China and Russia but I do not think that that is the attitude taken up by the Communist Party....

Shri Nambiar: We agree with that.

Shri Raghuramaiah: I am glad. I am sure that you will agree with whatever I have said this afternoon because it is the plain truth. At least after elections, we must agree. We may not have agreed during the elections.

Now about that propaganda, Shri Mukerjee had the audacity to charge some Congressmen that they had maligned other nations. I deny that. What is more I assert that it is the Communist Party that has maligned this country and its leaders throughout the election. Some of the speeches which were made by the Communists about our Prime Minister and about the Congress Party's organisation in general—I will not care to repeat. We cannot easily forgive those things nor have the people forgiven. The verdict of the people is there; they do not want to listen to the glorifications of this or that foreign country and damnifaction of one's own country. The electorate has given its verdict. If anybody had maligned anybody it is the Communist Party that had maligned this country and its leaders....

Shri Bogwat (Ahmednagar South): So, your people had a war against Communists.

Shri Raghuramaiah: And the war was in our favour; it ended in our favour. I do not understand why Shri Mukerjee was so very violent in his speech: "What are you going to do about Formosa?" he asked I say: Look here my friend: why do you not go to your friends in China or Russia and ask them as to what they are going to do about Goa? Have they publicly condemned the Portuguese attitude in respect of Goa? Why are you more worried about Formosa? Why do not you be worried about India? It is high time you did.

Shri Sadhan Gupta: See peoples' *Daily* and *Pravda*.

Shri Raghuramaiah: It rather struck me as curious. Every time they get heated about Formosa. Why not they ask their henchmen or friends there to come and help us about Goa?

Shri K. K. Basu: "Henchmen" is a maligning expression.

Shri Raghuramaiah: It is a truthful expression in the context.

Mr. Chairman: May I just intervene at this stage? If it goes on like this, there may or may not have been maligning elsewhere but it will be here. We are at cross purposes and if every word the hon. Member says

[Mr. Chairman]

is being contradicted and replied to, I do not know how it would be possible to continue the debate. I would request him to speak on the matters in issue without addressing any party.

Shri Raghuramaiah: Now I come to *Panch Shila*. Obviously that is a matter on which both of us can shake hands. We do hope, we look forward to it, that the Conference at Bandung will endorse this *Panch Shila*. We also earnestly hope that the Conference will assert that colonialism shall cease, whether in Asia or Africa. And it should not be merely a fervent prayer. All the powers of Asia and Africa that meet there should make it clear that not only colonialism will not be tolerated but that every one of them will do whatever is in its power to actively co-operate and help towards the liquidation of that cruse, and about the racial ill-treatment of peoples in the continent of Africa. I do hope the Conference would lay great emphasis on its early eradication. I have no doubt the Bandung Conference will open a new era in the history of the world and I look forward to my friend Mr. Hiren Mukerjee ultimately supporting whatever steps we take at that Conference.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee (Hooghly): After the fair exchange parliamentary compliments between Mr. Mukerjee and Mr. Raghuramaiah it is high time that we should address ourselves to the subject-matter of today's debate.

The Prime Minister has administered an exhortation to us that we must be realistic in our approach to the External Affairs problems. I want to be realistic I am happy that he has made a fairly comprehensive survey of world problems, from Formosa right up to Germany, and then came nearer home. There we were really disappointed and were not satisfied with what he said.

I am happy that there is going to be an Asian-African Conference at Bandung. We hope that it will have a salutary effect on the maintenance of world peace. I hope that concrete steps will be taken at that Conference by the leaders of the free nations of Asia and Africa which will help in the liquidation of the last vestiges of colonialism in the world. I only want to add this that they should meet in a new spirit, not in the spirit of old diplomacy. They should do something really to bring a new world into existence to redress the balance of the old. This Conference of Asian-African nations will succeed, and will only succeed, if the delegates are sustained by a deep conviction in the defence of moral ideologies. I do not accept the thesis that there only one imperialism, either British or American; there is also Soviet imperialism. We know that. But humanity's best hope of permanent peace lies in the fact that it must be signed in the hearts of men, not merely in paper agreements or facts. Empty stomachs have to be fed, empty hands have to be given work, and empty hearts will have to be filled with new ideologies. India has always stood for the Spirit, the triumph of the Spirit, the defence of the cause of the Spirit against material forces. And it will checkmate all ugly forces working for subversion in the world.

Some time back Sir Anthony Eden had come to this country. I had the privilege along with my friends of the Parliament to listen to the speech which he delivered here. I was rather disappointed with that speech. It contained a lot of pious wishes. But we did not get any definite inkling of his mind. Our Prime Minister has been continually suggesting that K.M.T. should quit the Quemoy and Matsu Islands off the coast of China. I wish he had not made any definite commitment. But has there been any real reaction to his suggestion, and will it be a desirable solution of the Formosa problem? If I remember aright, Sir Anthony Eden had said that the gap between

the views of the opposite forces on the question of Formosa was not unbridgeable. May I know what concrete steps have been taken after Sir Anthony Eden has left? Has there been any further approach from the British Government to our Prime Minister or reaction to the suggestions that he had made for tackling the Formosa problem? We are interested to know about the organisations for security. Syria and Egypt are setting up an organisation in order to neutralise the Turco-Iraqi Pact. We want to know whether any definite steps are being taken and whether something is really being done to undo the effect of these military pacts which do not lessen tension but really aggravate it.

The tragedy is that our problems nearer home are not being solved in the right spirit. The Prime Minister has today stated that a hundred thousand people are being uprooted, displaced from their homes in Africa simply because white domination has got the audacity to treat non-white humanity in that fashion. I am sorry to say that he has glossed over the same deplorable situation which is happening in this continent or subcontinent. More than a hundred thousand people, to be quite exact over one lakh and fifty-five thousand people have been squeezed out of their homes from East Pakistan in the last few months. Simply because they happened to be members of the minority community. I wanted some guidance on that. Let not these distressed, uprooted, displaced people who are being systematically squeezed out from their hearths and homes, point their finger to the Prime Minister of India and say "You are shedding crocodile tears for all the displaced people and the displaced thousands or millions in other parts of the world; what about the poor Hindus, members of the minority community in East Pakistan?" Did he not say it in clear terms—I remember his language, the message which he sent to Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee immediately Pakistan was created—when there was a big convention of East Bengal people, he assured them that "we will be sharers with them in their good fortune and their evil fortune". Are you sharing in their evil fortune? Are you doing your duty? Why are you keeping quiet? Why warm up only over the misdeeds of some people in other parts of the world, in Africa and other continents, and not over the tragedy which is nearer home? Three lakhs and sixty thousand people have applied for migration certificates to cross the frontier. I am sorry the Prime Minister has again tried to blame the Opposition Members of Parliament. Sir, you were in the Chair that day, not one Member of the Opposition demanded military action against Pakistan. The Prime Minister has been misinforming about this, as he is usually misinformed. I am sorry he was not here. When Shrimati Renu Chakravartty said that "we do not support the idea of exchange of population." Some members pointed out that seven lakhs of Muslims had gone to East Bengal from West Bengal, five lakhs of Muslims have come back and we are implementing the Nehru-Liaquat Ali Pact. Then Lala Achint Ram stood up and said that if all attempts for getting a rational and human approach fail and if the Nehru-Liaquat Ali Pact is again being broken, then the time has come when our Prime Minister and our Government should demand allocation of suitable territory from East Pakistan. I ask the Prime Minister, what is wrong in that? I ask the Prime Minister of India: did you accept the two nation theory of Mohammed Ali Jinnah? Did you accept the repudiation of the basic principle of nationalism on which the Indian National Congress was working? Never. So far as I know, East Pakistan was formed on the basis of keeping the entire Muslim population there plus the Hindu population of over 120 lakhs. Therefore, if that territory was assigned to them under the Radcliffe Award on that basis, that is, that they must have this population and treat them as decent citizens, entitled to rights of citizenship of Pakistan, you have no business to squeeze them out.

[Shri N. C. Chatterjee]

The Prime Minister's language was very strong; he ought not to have used that language. I strongly object to the use of that language. He said those who talk like that were totally lacking in wisdom, totally lacking in common intelligence. I am saying, nobody wanted any kind of military action. But, I say that it is after all a demand that a Congress Member, Lala Achint Ram, made on the floor of the House. Allocate suitable territory from East Bengal because they have squeezed out over 40 lakhs of people and they are now squeezing out people at the rate of 24,000 per month. It is only consistent with our demand for justice and fair play that we should demand here and now suitable territory. Who made that demand? The demand was not made by the Communists; the demand was not made by any person belonging to the Mahasaba. The demand was not made by any Opposition Member. That demand was made by no other person than the Iron Man of India, Sardar Patel. If he had been alive today, he would have reiterated that demand. When they had entered into a solemn pact with our Prime Minister, when we are implementing that pact, I ask the Prime Minister, before you go to any conference with the Pakistan Prime Minister, you tell him, "I will have no truck with you unless and until you implement your portion of the pact. You cannot have one way traffic all along the line and imperil the security and safety of my State of West Bengal, and imperil the development programmes and the Five Year Plan of India. You cannot do that." Why do you warm up for the misdeeds of Africans or white Africans and keep quiet over this misdeed and try to put the boot on the other leg? Face the problem boldly. My appeal to the Prime Minister is this. Do not ask us to be realistic; I ask you to be realistic. If you have got courage, speak out in the tone in which Sardar Patel would have spoken. Say that you have driven out 40 lakhs of people and you are still driving out 24,000 per month: that is the figure. The Rehabilitation Minister of West Bengal stands up in the Assembly and says, we are at the end of our resources, I cannot do anything to tackle this problem. Our Chief Minister says, it is beyond us. Our Rehabilitation Minister said that. The new Rehabilitation Minister said that he could not tackle this problem unless this tempo of exodus of displaced persons which has taken this gigantic proportion is stopped. Why don't you say, I am not going to have any talk with you with regard to Kashmir unless you stop this? That is very fair. There is nothing wrong in that. Fourteen lakhs of Namasudras are in one block. You know in the districts of Khulna, Barisal and Jessore, in one compact block, there are 14 lakhs of Namasudras. They have started to move. It is a terrific thing. This move of the cultivators is most distressing. That is something which must be stopped in India's interests. It is a national problem; it is a colossal problem; it is a problem of humanity. They are deliberately breaking a solemn pact which they entered into in the city of Delhi some time back with our Prime Minister. Why can't you say that? Don't say that the Members of Parliament are misbehaving. You will be guilty of gross dereliction of duty and showing cowardice, not worthy of any civilised Government, if you do not act properly in this crisis. What is the good of talking big about the problem of Formosa and giving gratuitous advice to China or the KMT unless and until you can tackle your problems in Goa, the problems of Kashmir and tackle the problem of Ceylon. A seventh rate power is insulting you. You are simply helping them indirectly by stopping our people from intercifying the *satyagraha* movement. You are developing cold feet. That is my charge. Our Government is not showing adequate courage. You are talking big and warming up in Parliament. But, there is a gap between your

oration and your action. That is my charge. That is a deplorable thing.

I say, demand immediately the accession of the district of Khulna. Demand what Sardar Patel would have demanded. You know Khulna was a Hindu majority area all along. Khulna is the next district to Twenty Four Parganas. This district of 24 Parganas is in India. It was all along a Hindu majority area. In the last census, something happened; you know that. The census was done under the aegis of the Muslim League Ministry. We never accepted that census as correct. Somehow, Khulna became 49·5 Hindus and 50·5 per cent Muslims. You can just understand in this census during the Muslim League Ministry of Nazimuddin and Suhrawardy what could have happened and what could not have happened. Some of our non-muslim slips were missing. A cyclone came and blew away the slips. I do not know how it blew off only our slips. It came to 49.5 per cent. Why not demand, give us that area, the Namasudra area? Where will we get that land and that accommodation in West Bengal? My appeal to the Prime Minister is this. Do not abuse your fellow Members of Parliament. Don't cover up your pusillamnty by thundering at the Members of Parliament and saying that they are lacking in intelligence or commonsense. Make yourself bold and courageous.

With regard to Kashmir, why don't you take this stand? After all, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed has made a definite declaration. That is the stand for which we were fighting. They have accepted our stand clearly, unequivocally, without any qualification and without any reservation. Practically unanimously, the Kashmir Constituent Assembly has resolved that the accession of the State of Kashmir to India is final. They have added, it is irrevocable. Why don't you accept the irrevocability of that accession? What right have you to put that finality peril? My request to the Prime Minister is this. It is not my request. When I had the privilege of going to Kashmir last year, hundreds and hundreds of people, both Hindus asd Muslims pressed us, for heaven's sake do not allow the Prime Minister of India to talk any more about plebiscite; for heaven's sake do not throw this unfortunate State into chaos and anarchy by a plebiscite; there are forces inimical to India, there are forces which want to make Kashmir a satellite State of Soviet Russia or of American imperialism; they are eager, they are active, they are virile, they the vigilant. They say, when the Kashmir Chief Minister has made that declaration clearly, when the Kashmir Constituent Assembly has made that declaration unhesitatingly, accept that declaration. They say, do not put our destiny in any further peril by talking of plebiscite. You talk of plebiscite for Kashmir; you do not talk of plebiscite for Formosa, you do not talk of plebiscite for the off-shore islands of China. Why are you thinking of a plebiscite now? If you have to keep on talking about that do keep up international decencies, you should tell them that our cardinal stand is that. The Prime Minister was perfectly right, if I may say so, when he said that Kashmir is not to be made a plaything of party politics. Neither Mr. Mohammed Ali nor any other Pakistan Minister or Prime Minister can demand that Shri Jawaharlal Nehru should make a present of Kashmir on a silver plate. Respect the wishes of the people of Jammu and Kashmir, wishes that have been clearly and unequivocally expressed. That expression of national will should be respected and should not be jeopardised by putting them in further peril. Don't throw that unfortunate State into further peril and disaster. That is my appeal to the Prime Minister. Be strong, be firm, don't be entangled into further alliances, into further discussions or conference unless and until they implement the Nehru-Liaquat Pact, unless and until they do their duty as a civilised Government.

[Shri N. C. Chatterjee]

I do not know whether it is true, I have just heard of it—possibly the Ministers and Prime Minister know better—that there has been a rupture of diplomatic relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan. I do not know whether that is correct. But whatever may be the difficulties of that State of Pakistan, we wish that there should be restoration of democratic and civilised Government. Immediately after Mr. Fazlul Huq's Ministry was installed, there were better relations between East Bengal and West Bengal. After all, they are our own people, our own brothers and sisters there. We have no grudge or animosity towards the people of Pakistan. They speak the same language, they are rooted to the same soil, and they are part and parcel of our organic motherland.

Therefore all that we wanted was this, that what God had made one, what Nature had made one, power-intoxicated politicians should not vivisect and sever for ever. That was our stand. We wanted therefore these economic barriers to be lowered. We wanted some kind of understandings, some kind of confederation, some kind of mutual compact to be arrived at between India and Pakistan which will reduce economic inequalities, and will ultimately do good to the poor oppressed, exploited and down-trodden masses both there and on this side of our country.

Dr. S. N. Sinha: Both the group leaders, one belonging to the extreme left and another to the extreme right, are behind the events.

An Hon. Member: Where are you?

Dr. S. N. Sinha: Of course, we on this side of the House have no intention to turn ourselves into Don Quixotes, take a lance in our hand and go on fighting the wide world. That is not our intention.

First, I will take the Soviet Union. So far as that country and the people are concerned, I must say not from the floor of this House, but from the top of any house, that if they have any friends in India, they are on this side of the House. Our Prime Minister is going to the Soviet Union this summer. A delegation of parliamentarians is also going to that country. And I want to assure them today that there are people here on this side of the House who are the best friends of the Soviet Union; and their best enemies are the Communists of India.

Shri A. M. Thomas (Ernakulam): Best enemies or worst enemies?

Dr. S. N. Sinha: Worst enemies. The best appreciation of our foreign policy which I have come across as yet, is from Moscow. I wonder why this point has not been stressed or underlined by our newspapers or by the orators and politicians of this House.

I lay great emphasis on this turn of events, which has taken place in the Soviet Union. With your permission I would like to read some original in Russian, because that will convey the real rhythm of the people. I had never had the honour to read original under your Chairmanship, Sir, and so you will excuse me if I read something in Russian from the original. It is from a speech which Comrade Molotov delivered in the session of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, that is, the Soviet Parliament, on the 8th February, of this year. And this is what he says:

'Bolshoe istoricheskoe znachenye umeit tot fact, chto nine niet uze kolonialnoi Indie, a sushestvuet Indiskaya respublica. Eto vaznie povorot v Sobitiakh, characterizzuishikh poslevoenoe razvitie v Azie Vse bolshe podnimaetsya mezdunarodnie avtoritet Indie, kak novovo vaznovo faktora v dele ukrepleniya mira i druzbi mezdu narodami."

—*Pravda*, 9-2-1955.

It means:

"A great historical importance has this fact that now there is no more a colonial India, but an Indian

Republic is in existence. This important change in events is the characteristic of the post-war developments in Asia. The international authority of India is rising higher and higher as a new important factor in the task of strengthening peace and friendship amongst the peoples."

Further on, he says:

"In April, that is within a couple of months, in the city of Bandung, Indonesia, a conference of the countries of Asia and Africa will take place, in which up to 30 Asian and African countries would take part. The very fact of convening such a conference expresses it, how great are the positive changes which have taken place in the recent periods in Asia."

Again in another place, he says:

"The U.S.S.R. cannot but appreciate what for example, India or Burma together with the People's Republic of China have proclaimed—those five principles for peaceful collaboration amongst the Powers" that is, co-existence, non-interference in the internal matters, etc., and you know what those five principles are—" on which the Soviet Union has always based its foreign politics and which have now gained strength and friendly support in the whole world.

We may rightly ask the Governments and the Parliaments of all countries why these peace-loving principles now formulated in the Indo-Chinese declaration of the 28th June 1954, cannot stand as a common platform in the cause of maintaining and strengthening peace, for all peoples."

The very next day, that is, on the 9th February 1955, the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, that is, the Soviet Parliament, sent a declaration to our Parliament—copies of it are available in the Library—in which they emphasised again:

"The Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics considered it of exceedingly great importance that relations between countries, big and small, should be founded on such international principles as would facilitate the development of friendly co-operation among the nations in conditions of a peaceful serene life.

It is necessary that relations between countries should be based on principles of equality, non-interference in internal affairs, non-aggression, renunciation of encroachments on the territorial integrity of other states, and on respect for sovereignty and national independence.

The observance of these principles which already underlie the relations of such States as the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, India, and a number of other countries, ensures the peaceful co-existence of States, irrespective of their social and state system."

They might have different systems in the Soviet Union, and we might have different systems here in India. That does not matter. There is room for co-existence and for better understanding amongst these two countries. The statement is of very high importance. You will excuse me if I read one more para from this, because I consider it to be very important; since it comes from the Soviet Parliament to our Parliament. I must read it out on the floor of this House. They say in their concluding para:

"The Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics recognises that parliaments bear a great responsibility for the preservation and consolidation of peace. It is they that adopt legislative acts on questions of war and peace.

The Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

[Dr. S. N. Sinha]

holds that the establishment of direct contact between parliaments, exchange of parliamentary delegations addresses by parliamentary delegations of one country in parliament of another country will conform to the desire of the peoples to develop friendly relations and co-operation.

The Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will sincerely welcome any steps by parliaments of other States designed to strengthen peace among the nations."

—The Kremlin, Moscow, February 9, 1955.

We all know that our Prime Minister is leaving for the Soviet Union, and also a parliamentary delegation is leaving to that country in the first week of May. So my mind is concentrated just now on these Indo-Soviet relations mainly. So far as I can judge from their papers, their policy about the present day world and their reading of it, as depicted in their newspapers, is not very different from what we have here in our country. The *Panch Shila* also has been admitted there, as I have just read out to you from Mr. Molotov's speech, as to what they think about that.

In this connection I am reminded of one of Pushkin's lines. Our people will go to Russia shortly, and unless they know Pushkin, and also one or two others, perhaps Tchaikovski and Tolstoy, they would not be able to understand Russia itself. I would advise them to make a pilgrimage in the first place to Yasnaya Polyana, where Tolstoy lived. Otherwise our people will not be able to understand Russia properly, just as anybody who comes to our country from foreign countries will not be able to judge Indian minds correctly unless he has some ideas about Gandhiji or Rabindranath Tagore; without some ideas about them, he will not be able to see the beauty and life of the people of this country. Somewhere you will find one of Pushkin's lines—I shall just mention only one with a change of a single word:

"Chem menshe mi Atomy lubim,

Tem bolie mi noravimsya eyo."

Perhaps it will mean:

"The less we like the atom explosions, the more nature would love us."

For this, why should we go to Russia? We can also say with Rabindranath:

"Ai gan tomar shesh kare dao
Natun sure bandho binakhani."

Why not end this horrible music of the atom explosions and begin a new life with songs of peace and bring benefit and happiness to humanity? This is the message which our country can convey to that great country, the Soviet Union, from our side. The people who will be going there from our country will, of course, be very fortunate, because they will be seeing many new things. Besides the Yasnaya Polyana, they will see in Moscow the Bolshoi Theatre, the great opera where Pushkin's stories are played, composed by Tchaikovski. That is something which our people will appreciate. They will know that Russian music is similar to our *bhairavi*, and many other *raga raginis*. It will not sound pure Europeon.

I have very little time to devote to music—I am actually flying in imagination. I admit, I have drifted quite a good deal from the debate on the External Affairs Ministry. But then, what I intend to emphasise is that the basic aim of any pattern of foreign policy should be, as it is of ours, to come in better relations with other countries. That must be the principal aim so far as the foreign policy of a country is concerned. This has been the ideal of Asia since times immemorial. We have been following this ideal, and it is proper that all efforts are put together today to support the foreign policy of our Prime Minister.

Broadly speaking, there have been various natures of foreign policy in the history of different countries. We find that they have been named according to their peculiarities and patterns. There has been, for example, imperialist foreign policy, colonial policy, expansionist and aggressive foreign policy and so on. Sometimes foreign policy as an expression of purely nationalist interest has taken shape in territorial ambitions. Well, our foreign policy is quite different. It is of a pattern quite different from those which I have just enumerated. We have no territorial ambition against any country or any place. Rather, we have got the problem of Goa, the territory which belongs to us. Still it is in the hands of foreigners, it is under foreign possession. We are very sorry about it; we are not in the least just keeping quiet, as an hon. Member has just said. But we are tactful in this matter. We are studying, as the Prime Minister has said, the international situation. Of course, the time may come when we may also intervene; there is nothing to bar us from that. But we are ssure of one thing, so far as our foreign policy is concerned, that our patience in this direction, in the matter of Goa will also have some good effect as an example of dealing with things of that sort of provocation by foreign powers. This is one lesson which the world should take from us. Let it be about Formosa or about other countries. Let them know how we handle our own foreign policy in our country.

What I intend to emphasise is that today in the world every injustice is bound to be set right more especially by peaceful methods when we adopt them properly. This is our main contribution to the present world, of which we must be proud. Looked at in this perspective, we will find that a foreign policy based on hydrogen bombs or atomic bombs has become a little behind events. The deciding factor in world politics and outlook today is going to be the line which the Asiatic countries are going to take in Bandung, especially the direction which our country is showing to the world today. Considering this high end, the amount we pay to our External Affairs Ministry is not very high. This is the time when we should not look into these small matters, about some mission here or some mission there or some consul here or some individual there. This is not the time for that. Instead, what we should do is to make a serious effort to see that our foreign policy gets momentum and stops the world from going towards a catastrophic end.

Then, Sir, with all the good wishes of the peace-loving countries, I am sure about the ultimate success of our foreign policy which, in its turn, will bring a new dawn of peace in the world.

ویدیشک کاریہ منتراليے میں

منتری (ڈاکٹر سید محمود) : جناب چیرمین صاحب - دنیا کے بعض گوشوں میں ہندوستان کی طرف سے اور ہندوستان کی پالیسی کے متعلق ہندوستان کے پرائم منسٹر کی طرف سے جو پالیسی اختیار کی گئی ہے اس کے متعلق بہت سی غلط فہمی اب بھی پھیلی ہوئی ہے - بعض موقوں پر تو ایسا کہا گیا ہے کہ صلح اور شانتی کے لئے آواز اٹھانا کمیونسٹ ہونا ہے یا کمیونزم کی طرف قدم بڑھانا ہے - ہندوستان نے پہلی مرتبہ اس سر زمین میں غالباً کئی ہزار برس پہلے - پریم اور محبت کا پیغام دنیا کو سنایا - کئی ہزار برس پہلے شاید پہلی مرتبہ ہی ہندوستان نے دنیا کے امن اور شانتی کا پیغام سنایا

[ڈاکٹر سید محمود]

جنگ سے بھی زیادہ ہوئی اختیار کرتا ہے اور اس کے حق میں آواز اُٹھاتا ہے تو اس میں امریکہ کو کوئی اعتراض نہیں ہونا چاہیئے اور اس کو غالباً دوسرے ملکوں کو سمجھانا چاہیئے کہ اس میں کوئی بری چیز نہیں ہے کیونکہ امریکہ خود اس پالیسی پر عمل کر چکا ہے -

آج کل ہر ملک یہ کہہ رہا ہے کہ ہم ایسٹ اور ویسٹ میں صلح کرانے کے لئے کام کر رہے ہیں اور ہم جو قدم اُٹھاتے ہیں وہ دنیا میں امن کے کاز کو بڑھاوا دینے کے لئے اُٹھاتے ہیں - لیکن بد قسمتی سے جو قدم اُٹھائے جاتے ہیں ان کا اُلٹا اثر ہوتا ہے اور ہمارے قدم ہم کو صلح اور شانتی کی طرف نہیں لے جاتے بلکہ لڑائی کی طرف لے جاتے ہیں - اسی سلسلے میں جیسا کہ آپ کو معلوم ہے ٹرکو - عراقی پیکٹ ہوا - بیشک ہر ملک کو اختیار ہے کہ وہ کسی بھی ملک سے پیکٹ کرے لیکن یہ دیکھنا چاہئے کہ اس کا نتیجہ کیا ہوتا ہے - اس کا اثر کیا ہوتا ہے - کیا اس پیکٹ کے ذریعہ عراق اپنے کو یا ٹرکی کو دشمن سے بچا سکیگا اور کیا یہ بھی دیکھا گیا ہے کہ اس پیکٹ کا فوری اثر کیا ہوا -

اس کا فوری اثر یہ ہوا کہ عرب لیگ میں - جو ایک زمانے سے قائم تھا - ہندوستان نے یقیناً پہلی مرتبہ اپنی آزادی نہایت نان وائلینٹ طریقے سے حاصل کی - ان ٹریڈیشنس کو دیکھتے ہوئے اور اس بات کو دیکھتے ہوئے کہ جو قدم ہم نے اپنی آزادی کو حاصل کرنے کے لئے اُٹھائے - اگر آج ہندوستان اور ہندوستان کے پرائم منسٹر نے اپنے ملک کے لئے - نہ صرف اپنے لئے بلکہ دنیا کے لئے - انسانیت کے لئے - صلح اور شانتی کے لئے آواز اُٹھائی ہے تو اس میں کیا جرم کیا ہے - امریکہ کو خاص طور سے شاید اعتراض رہا ہے اور ہماری پالیسی کے متعلق غلط فہمی بھی رہی ہے - لیکن خود امریکہ نے کیا کیا ؟ امریکہ نے اپنی آزادی حاصل کرنے کے بعد تقریباً ڈیڑھ سو برس تک دنیا سے کوئی تعلق یا میل جول نہیں رکھا - واشنگٹن سے لیکر وڈرو ولسن تک امریکہ امریکہ سے باہر نہیں نکلا اور اِس نے اپنے آپ کو الگ رکھا - وڈرو ولسن بھی بہت مشکلات کے بعد ۱۹۱۴ کی جنگ میں اپنی پرانی مونرو پالیسی کو چھوڑ کر شریک ہوا - اگر ہندوستان اب اسی پالیسی کو جو کہ امریکہ برت چکا ہے اور جس میں اس کو کامیابی ملی ہے اپنے ملک کے لئے نہ صرف اپنے ملک کے لئے بلکہ دنیا کے لئے اور دنیا میں جو باتیں ہو رہی ہیں اور جو ہمیں تباہی کی طرف لے جا رہی ہیں اور وہ تباہی جو کہ ۱۹۱۴ اور ۱۹۳۹ کی

کہ عربوں میں پھوٹ پڑ گئی ہے - مثل اسمتھ کے جو ملک اس پیکٹ میں شریک نہیں ہوئے ہیں ان کو طرح طرح کی دھمکیاں دی جا رہی ہیں - لیکن سیریا اب تک اڑا ہوا ہے کہ وہ عرب لیگ کے اصولوں پر عمل کریگا وہ عربوں کا سیکیورٹی پیکٹ بنائیگا - وہ عربوں سے علیحدہ نہیں ہونا چاہتا - لیکن بعض گوشوں میں ایسا کہا جا رہا ہے کہ سیریا کا یہ ایٹیٹیو ہوسٹائل ایٹیٹیوڈ ہے - سیریا کو کمزور سمجھکر اس پر زور ڈالا جا رہا ہے - وہ اپنے نیشنل اصولوں پر چلنا چاہتا ہے - اس کو ان اصولوں سے علیحدہ کرنے کی کوشش کی جا رہی ہے - ایک زمانے کی کوششوں سے جو کچھ عرب لیگ نے حاصل کیا تھا- اس کو توڑنے کی کوشش کی جا رہی ہے - یوں تو ہر ایک ملک کو اختیار ہے کہ وہ چاہے جس کے ساتھ پیکٹ کرے - مگر اس کا یہ نتیجہ نکل رہا ہے -

اتنا ہی نہیں - آج ہی کی شاید یہ خبر ہے کہ انگلستان کا ترکی کے ساتھ کچھ معاہدہ ہوا ہے - اس کے کیا معنی - ترکی کا عراق سے معاہدہ ہے اور ترکی کا پاکستان سے معاہدہ ہے - اور انگلستان کا معاہدہ ترکی سے ہے- تو یہ ایک کڑی بن رہی ہے - کیا اس کا اثر یہ ہوگا کہ اس سے دنیا میں صلح ہوگی - کیا اس کڑی کا جو تیار کی جا رہی ہے - یہ اثر ہوگا کہ تھی - جس کو کئی بڑی بڑی قوموں نے مدد دی تھی - جو ایک عرصے سے نہایت اچھا کام کر رہی تھی-جو ایک عرصہ سے بکھرے ہوئے عربوں کو ایک لڑی میں پرونے کا کام نہایت عمدگی کے ساتھ کر رہی تھی - جو مختلف عرب قوموں کے اختلافات کو کم کر رہی تھی- اور ان کو ایک دوسرے کے نزدیک لا رہی تھی - اس میں پھوٹ پڑ گئی- تو پہلا اثر سی کا اس ایریا پر یہ ہوا کہ وہاں کے لوگ جو اپنے اختلافات کو مٹاکر ایک دوسرے کے قریب آنا چاہتے تھے - اس کام میں رکاوٹ پڑ گئی - اور ان لوگوں میں پھوٹ پڑ گئی - یہ تو اس کے معنی نہیں ہونے چاہیے - ممکن ہے عرب لیگ نے کچھ غلطیاں کی ہوں - لیکن زیادہ تر اس نے بہت اچھا کام کیا ہے - اس نے عربوں کو آپس میں ملانے کی کوشش کی تھی - خود عراق کے پرائمنسٹر فاضل جمالی نے عرب لیگ میں جاکر ایک تحریک پیش کی تھی کہ تمام عرب قوموں کی ایک قوت ہونی چاہئے - دوسرے ملکوں میں ان کی طرف سے ایک امبیسیڈر جانا چاہیئے - ان کی ایک فوجی پالیسی ہونی چاہئے - ان کی ایک فارن پالیسی ہونی چاہیے - جو عراق ان باتوں پر زور دیتا تھا اور سمجھتا تھا کہ اس سے زیادہ بہتر چیز عربوں کے لئے کچھ اور ہو ہی نہیں سکتی آج وہ ایسے پیکٹ میں شریک ہو گیا ہے - جسکا فوری نتیجہ یہ ہے

[ڈاکٹر سید محمود]

عجیب بات یہ ہے کہ یہ قدم جو دنیا میں صلح اور آشتی کے لئے رکھے جا رہے ہیں ان کا الٹا اثر پیدا ہو رہا ہے - ان کا نتیجہ یہ ہو رہا ہے کہ بجائے اس کے کہ دنیا میں صلح اور آشتی کی لہر بڑھے - وہ دوسری طرف بڑھ رہی ہے -

اس طرح سے ساؤتھ ایسٹ ایشیا میں کیا ہوا ہے - کہا جاتا ہے کہ وہاں پر جو قدم اُٹھایا گیا ہے وہ بھی صلح کی طرف بڑھنے کے لئے ہے - ظاہر ہے کہ جو کچھ وہاں پر ہوا ہے اس کا اثر چین پر اچھا نہیں ہوگا - دعویٰ یہ ہے کہ اس قدم کو اٹھا کر صلح اور آشتی کی طرف جانے کی کوشش کی جا رہی ہے - لیکن ظاہر ہے کہ اس کا وہ اثر نہیں ہوگا اور چین پر نہیں ہوا ہے - اس طرح کی کارروائی کا الٹا اثر پڑ رہا ہے - ہم چین اور اس کی طرف نہیں بڑھ رہے ہیں -

ابھی آپ نے اس کو پرائم منسٹر کی تقریر میں اچھی طرح سے سنا ہے کہ ان کارروائیوں سے مڈل ایسٹ میں ایک عجیب چیز پیدا ہوئی ہے - وہ ملک جو کہ صلح اور آشتی کی طرف چل رہے تھے - جو اتحاد کی طرف بڑھ رہے تھے - ان میں پھوٹ پڑ گئی ہے - اس کا دنیا پر اچھا اثر نہیں پڑ رہا ہے - دنیا یہ نہیں اس سے دنیا میں صلح اور آشتی کا جذبہ پھیلیگا - ہم دیکھ رہے ہیں کہ اسکے بالکل برخلاف اثر ہو رہا ہے - عربوں میں پھوٹ پیدا ہو گئی ہے - یہ سمجھا جا رہا ہے کہ جو اس پیکٹ میں شریک نہیں ہوگا وہ ہرسٹائل ہے ؟ پھوٹ کو آئڈ ولیٹ کرنے کی کوشش کی جا رہی ہے ؟ لیکن معلوم نہیں آئندہ ان پر بھی کیا زور ڈالا جائیگا - امید ہے کہ سیریا انسانیت کے لئے - سیریا خود عربوں کی بہبودی کے لئے - عرب لیگ کی بہبودی کے لئے - اور خود اپنی بہبودی کے لئے جو رائے اس نے قائم کی ہے کہ وہ عرب لیگ کے اصولوں کو نہیں چھوڑیگا - اس پر قائم رہیگا - اگر آج کی یہ خبر سچ ہے کہ انگلستان بھی ترکی کے ساتھ معاہدے میں شریک ہو گیا ہے - تو اس کے بڑے نتائج پیدا ہونے والے ہیں - اس خبر نے سنسنی پیدا کر دی ہے - اس خبر کا - اگر یہ صحیح ہے - ان ملکوں پر جو کہ برٹش کامن ویلتھ میں شامل ہیں عجیب و غریب اثر ہوگا - انگلستان ایک بہت پرانا اور مدبر ملک ہے - وہ چیزوں کو خوب سمجھتا ہے - مجھے امید ہے کہ وہاں کے لوگوں نے ان مسائل کو اچھی طرح سے سوچ لیا ہوگا - کہ اس کا کیا اثر دنیا پر پڑیگا - کیا اثر ہندوستان پر پڑیگا - اور کیا اثر اور ملکوں پر پڑنے والا ہے - ایک

یہاں آئے - انہوں نے اس کو لبیک کہا - کمبوڈیا کے راجہ یہاں آئے - انہوں نے اس کو لبیک کہا - اور بھی بہت سے ملک اس کو پسند کرینگے اور مانینگے - یہ تو ایک ایسی چیز ہے جس کے بارے میں کوئی یہ نہیں کہہ سکتا کہ اس میں یہ برائی ہے - جو کانفرینس بانڈنگ میں ہونے والی ہے وہ ایشیا اور افریقہ کی تاریخ میں ایک زرین چیز ہوگی - اور ایشیا اور مظلوم افریقہ کی ایک متحدہ آواز اٹھیگی - جس سے دنیا میں امن اور چین پھیلیگا - ایشیا کا ابھی تک یہی رول رہا ہے کہ وہ دنیا میں امن چین پھیلاوے - جیسا کہ میں نے پہلے کہا تھا - ہندوستان کا یہ رول ہزاروں برس سے رہا ہے - اور آج بھی اس کا وہی شانتی کا رول ہے - آج ہندوستان کی سرکردگی میں ایشیا آگے بڑھے گا - لیکن شاید - سرکردگی - کا لفظ ہمارے پرائم منسٹر کو پسند نہ آوے - گو کہ دوسرے ملک آج یہ کہتے ہیں کہ ہندوستان ہمارا لیڈر ہے - تو میں کہونگا کہ ہندوستان کی ہزاروں برس پرانی اس صلح اور آشتی کی آواز پر ایشیا آگے بڑھے گا - اس امول کو ایشیا نے لبیک کہا ہے - اور اگر یہ اصول اس کانفرینس میں منظور ہو جاتا ہے تو یہ ایشیا اور افریقہ دونوں کے لئے فخر کی چیز ہوگی - اور اگر اس کے ذریعہ ایشیا والے امن قائم کر سکے - یا اس کے ذریعے دنیا سے اس مہیب

سمجھینگے کہ یہ بڑی بڑی طاقتیں صلح اور آشتی کے لئے کام کر رہی ہیں - کیونکہ [illegible] کا اثر الٹا ہو رہا ہے - اگر وہ طاقتیں یہ چاہتے ہیں کہ دنیا میں صلح اور آشتی ہو - اور دنیا امن اور چین کی طرف بڑھے تو یہ قدم غلط ہیں - جو کارروائی کی جاتی ہے اسکا وہ اثر نہیں ہوتا جو وہ چاہتے ہیں - اگر وہ در اصل یہ چاہتے ہیں کہ دنیا میں صلح اور آشتی قائم ہو - ان کو یہ محسوس کرنا چاہئے کہ ان کی کارروائی کا الٹا اثر ہو رہا ہے - اور اس کو ٹھیک کرنا چاہئے لیکن اگر یہ غلطی نہیں ہے اور جان بوجھ کر ایسا کیا جاتا ہے تو بڑے افسوس کی بات ہے -

ایشیا اور افریقہ کی تاریخ میں ہم آج پہلی مرتبہ بانڈنگ میں اتنے ملک ملتے جا رہے ہیں - اب پہلی مرتبہ پنچ شیل کی آواز کو سنکر ایشیا کے ملک اور افریقہ کے مظلوم ملک بانڈنگ میں اکٹھا ہو رہے ہیں - جیسا کہ ہمارے پرائم منسٹر نے کہا - ممکن ہے اس سے کسی کو غلط فہمی ہو - لیکن کیا دنیا کا کوئی انسان کہہ سکتا ہے کہ ان پانچ چیزوں میں سے ہم کو کچھ نہیں چاہئے یا وہ نہیں چاہئے - وہ تو صاف اور روشن ترتیب ہیں - ان کو تو ہر شخص کو اور ہر ملک کو ماننا ہوگا - اس سے تو کسی کو اختلاف ہو ہی نہیں سکتا - تو ہندوستان کے پرائم منسٹر نے ایک ایسی چیز پیش کی ہے کہ جس کو سب نے لبیک کہا ہے - مارشل ٹیٹو

[ڈاکٹر سید محمود]

ہتھیار کو مٹا سکے تو یہ بہت بڑی کامیابی ہوگی - اور جو دنیا کی تباہی ہونے والی ہے اس کو بچا سکیںگے - ورنہ وہی ہوگا جیسا کہ پرائم منسٹر نے کہا ایک بار آئنسٹائن نے کہہ تھا کہ آئندہ جو لڑائی ہوگی وہ بھائے ایٹم بم یا توپ اور بندوق اور ہوائی جہازوں کے تیر اور کمان سے ہوگی -

اس کے معنی یہ ہیں کہ ظاہر ہے کہ دنیا تباہ ہونے والی ہے اور پھر نئے سرے سے دنیا کو اپنا سفر شروع کرنا ہوگا - نئے سرے سے دنیا کو آگے بڑھنا ہوگا اور یہ ایسی چیز ہے کہ میری سمجھ میں نہیں آتا کہ اس کو کون ایسا شخص ہے اور کون ایسا ملک ہے جو یہ نہیں سمجھتا ہوگا - لیکن بہر حال جو قدم ہم اُٹھا رہے ہیں اس قدم کا الٹا ہی اثر ہو رہا ہے - ہماری نیتیں کچھ بھی ہوں - کام جو ہو رہا ہے اس کا برا اثر پڑ رہا ہے - اُمید ہے کہ یہ کانفرینس اپنے مقصد میں کامیاب ہوگی اور خدا کرے اس کانفرینس کو اپنے کام میں کامیابی ملے - ایک متحدہ اور متفقہ آواز جو پنچشلا کو لے کر اُٹھیگی تو تمام دنیا سمجھیگی اور پوری طرح کہ ایشیا نے آج پہلی مرتبہ متفق اور متحدہ آواز دنیا کے لئے اُٹھائی ہے اور اپنا وہی رول انڈیا اور ایشیا پلے کر رہا ہے جوکہ ہزاروں برس سے اس کا رول رہا ہے -

[English translation of the above speech]

The Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs (Dr. Syed Mahmud): Mr. Chairman, in some corners of the world there still exists a great deal of misunderstanding regarding the foreign policy adopted on behalf of India by our Prime Minister. At times it has been said that voicing peace is a communistic tendency or a step towards communism. India, probably, was the first country to send out a message of peace and love to outer world thousands of years ago. Surely for the first time India achieved her freedom through non-violent methods. Keeping in view, therefore, our traditions and also the methods adopted by us in our struggle for freedom, if today the Prime Minister of India has for his country, nay, for whole of the world and for humanity—raised his voice for peace, I think, it is no crime. America has, in particular, objected to it, perhaps, and she also has been having misunderstandings regarding our foreign policy. But what did America do herself? She did not have any relations or contacts with the outer world for about a century and a half after she achieved freedom. Right from President Washington to Woodroe Wilson America kept herself aloof and isolated. Woodroe Wilson, too, after great difficulties, left the old Munro doctrine and participated in the war of 1914. If now, India also adopts the same policy, which has already been pursued by America with success, and follows the way which leads to a devastation far greater than the one caused by the wars of 1914 and 1939 and raises her voice in favour of peace, America should not object to it, but should on the contrary, make other countries understand that there is nothing bad in it, for she (America) has already pursued the same policy.

Today, every country is claiming to be working for an East-West accord, and believes that the steps it takes are meant for the promotion of the cause of world peace. But, unfortu-

nately, the steps taken have an adverse effect, and thus our actions lead us towards war instead of peace. As you are aware, Turco-Iraqi pact was made in this connection. Undoubtedly, every country is entitled to make a pact with any other country, but the results accruing from such a step must be foreseen. Can Iraq save Turkey or herself from the enemy by virtue of this pact? Have they also realised its immediate repercussions?

The immediate effect of the pact was the rift in the ranks of Arab League. This league was existing for so long a time, getting help from big nations, endeavouring nicely for bringing together the disunited Arabs and also working for obviating the differences among various Arab nations for bringing them closer. So, the first effect of this pact on this area was that the attempts of those people who were trying to obviate their differences were handicapped and a rift was created. This should not have such a result. It is possible that Arab league might have made a few mistakes but it mostly showed very good results. It had tried to bring about co-operation amongst Arabs. The Prime Minister of Iraq, Mr. Fazel-Gamali, himself had moved in the Arab League that all the Arab nations should have one united force, that they should send one Ambassador on their behalf to each country, they should have one military policy and that they should also adopt a uniform foreign policy. The country *i.e.*, Iraq, which was stressing these points and was of the view that so far as Arabs were concerned, there could be nothing better than this, has today joined that pact the immediate effect of which has been a rift in Arabs. Those of the Middle East countries which have not joined the pact are being threatened, but Syria alone is adamant and has expressed that she would go by the principles of Arab League, make a security pact for Arabs and would not like to separate herself from them. But some circles say that this attitude of Syria is hostile. Thinking her to be a weak country pressure is being put on Syria. She wants to go by her national principles but efforts are being made to take her away from that path. Whatever the Arab League had accomplished after age-old efforts is being sought to be destroyed. No doubt, every country is at liberty to make a pact with any other country she likes, but the results are there.

Not only this. It is, perhaps today's news that England has entered into a pact with Turkey. What does it mean? Turkey has made a pact with Iraq and Pakistan, and England has made a pact with Turkey. A chain has been formed in this way. Will it result in a world peace and bring about an atmosphere of peace and brotherhood? It is evident that its effect is just the reverse. There is a split in Arabs. It is being understood that those who do not join this pact are hostile. Efforts are also being made to isolate Egypt, but who knows about the pressure that is going to be put on them in future. It is hoped that Syria sticks to her views firmly for the saks of humanity, for the welfare of Arabs and the Arab League and for her own welfare, and does not deviate from the principles of the League. If today's news regarding Anglo-Turkish pact is correct, it shall have far-reaching results. It has created a sensation. It will have a very strange effect on the British Commonwealth countries. U.K. is an old country where statesmen live. They understand things very well, and I hope they must have thought well over these problems and the effects that such steps will leave on India and other countries of the world. It is so strange that these steps taken to promote peace and brotherhood in the world have an adverse effect. The result is not peace and friendship but otherwise.

Similar is the case with South East Asia. It is said that the steps taken there are for peace, but it is so obvious that the happenings there will not have a desirable effect in China. It is again claimed that these steps

[Dr. Syed Mahmud]

will mean a march towards peace and brotherhood, but it is so obvious that the effect will not be as desired. This has an adverse effect in China, and we are thus not marching towards peace.

You have just now heard from our Prime Minister that these steps have created a strange atmosphere in the Middle East. There is a split in the countries which were marching towards peace and brotherhood, and thereby desiring to come closer. This is not having a desirable effect on the world. The world will never understand that these big powers are working for peace and brotherhood because the effect is adverse. If those powers desire to have peace and brotherhood for a world peace then the steps taken are wrong. The steps taken do not bring forth the desired effect. If they really want to have peace and brotherhood established, they should feel that their activities have an adverse effect, and thus they should be set right. Well, it is a matter of deep regret if the steps are not wrong but designed.

It is for the first time in the history of Asia and Africa that so many Asian countries and the suppressed countries of Africa are meeting at Bandung at the call of *Panch Shila*. As our Prime Minister said, it is possible that there may be some misunderstanding regarding this, but can anybody in the world say that he would not like one or the other principle out of the five. All the principles are self-evident truths. Anybody in any country shall have to accept them. Nobody can have any objection to these. The Prime Minister has enunciated such principles as have been welcomed by all. Marshall Tito and the king of Cambodia came here and welcomed these principles. Many more countries will also like to accept these, because these principles are above any defects. The proposed conference at Bandung will be a unique event in the history of Asia and Africa where the people of Asia and suppressed Africa will raise a unanimous voice, which will bring about peace and tranquillity in the world. Asia throughout the centuries has been playing the role of a peace-maker. As I said already, India has been playing this role for the last thousands of years, and even today her role is that of a peace-maker. Asia will advance under India's leadership—probably, our Prime Minister might not like the word 'leadership', but all other Asian countries accept her leadership. And so I would like to say that Asia will march forward at the centuries—old Indian call of peace and brotherhood. Asia has welcomed these principles and if these are also approved in that Conference, it would really be a matter of great pride for Asia and Africa both. If Asians are able to establish peace through *Panch Shila* or are able to obliterate this fearful weapon from the world, it will be a very great achievement. They can save the world from the impending destruction. If we fail in our efforts, there will be a great destruction. As was told by our Prime Minister, Eienstein once remarked that the future wars would be fought with bows and arrows and not with Atom bombs, guns or aeroplanes.

The meaning is quite clear. There shall be devastation and then the world shall start anew. I do not think, anybody in any country of the world needs to be told about all that. The steps we are taking are, however, having an adverse effect. Our intentions may be good but our actions are bringing forth a bad result. I hope, the proposed conference at Bandung proves to be a success. May God will so! The unanimous and united voice raised for the first time by Asian countries with the slogan of *Panch Shila* will make it clear to all that it is meant for the whole world. The world will come to know that India and Asia today are playing the same role which they played for thousands of years.

Shri Asoka Mehta (Bhandara): I have to offer a few criticisms and some suggestions about the working of the

External Affairs Ministry. I hope the criticisms and suggestions will be taken in the proper focus. Before I discuss the problems further away, I would like to make a few brief observations on the regions and problems nearer home.

In the North East Frontier Agency area, there have been frequent armed encounters, and in the last one year there have been three such encounters. I am surprised as to why in this area we have not been able to develop that kind of relationship which would bind these Frontier people, these tribal people to us in bonds of real affection. In the past few months, a series of articles appeared in the Press, in Assam, about the general tone of administration in that area. Serious criticisms and charges were made against the administrative personnel there. From the report that has been given to us, it is difficult to know if any efforts are being made to improve the general tone of administration, and whether the right type of personnel is being selected for the administration or not. May I draw the attention of the Prime Minister to the fact that we are not permitted to enter into the frontier areas and it is a matter of the deepest shame and regret to all of us that over and over again law and order there are maintained by rifle in hand? A kind of curtain exists round the area. My colleagues in the Party in Assam wanted to go there and they were refused permission to enter. They wanted permission for my going to that area and the only reply was silence. I do not know whether any one of us will be permitted to go there. But may I suggest to the Prime Minister that, if conditions are not as good there as they should be. He would consider the suggestion of sending a Parliamentary Delegation there? We would very much like to help him and we would like to lighten his burden by going there, meeting those people and bringing them nearer to our heartstrings.

Shri S. S. More (Sholapur): Which will be at the time of by-elections.

Shri Asoka Mehta: I would like to say a word about Goa. The Prime Minister has told us that the Portuguese are building up their armed strength and repression is being intensified and that satyagrahis are being deported. I have been connected with the freedom movement in Goa in one form or another. A large number of boys who used to come to my place were deported later on. In 1947 and onwards, none of those young men, who participated in the freedom movement and have been deported during the last seven or eight years, have come back. So far, we have no information about any of them. Eighteen satyagrahis have been deported and some of them are Indian citizens. It is not a question of their being deported only yesterday or the day before; in the last seven or eight years, a fairly large number of young people have been deported and there is no news about them. Surely, on these things, the Prime Minister cannot take up merely an attitude of diplomatic pressure.

Then, about Kashmir, I was happy to find the Prime Minister saying that the central aspect of the problem of Kashmir is the people of Kashmir and he referred to the soul of Kashmir. I have also felt that what we must care for is the soul of Kashmir. My experience tells me—I am very sorry to have to say this and I will be untrue to myself if I did not take this opportunity of putting it on record—that the soul of Kashmir is being suffocated. Unless the administration or the method of administration there is revised, let me assure the Prime Minister, that the people of Kashmir will not be reconciled to us. An M.L.A. belonging to my Party wanted to see the Acharya and myself before the Assembly met—he is Abdul Gani Goni. He was told that he could have one-way permit. He could come to Delhi but he would not be permitted to go back! A member of the Assembly wanting to consult his own colleagues in Delhi is being given only one-way permit. Another colleague of

[Shri Asoka Mehta]

mine, Karim Shah, a P.S.P. worker, was assaulted to death in Chararsharif. Over forty of my co-workers there have been beaten up as I myself was beaten up. Recently an M.L.A. who had shown an intention to join the opposition was beaten up and made to recant. If an M.P. can be beaten up, why not an M.L.A. also? Surely these things have been happening there; the soul of Kashmir does not rest in Bakshi Ghulam Muhammed but it rests in the common people and they have no sense of security there.

The Prime Minister told us of the economic development that has taken place there thanks to the enormous help that is being given to them by us. I welcome the help we are giving them in such a generous and abundant measure. But is the money given being properly spent? Will the money and every pie, that is being given to them bring them the return that the people are entitled to expect? I am not so sure about it. I was not among the admirers of Sheikh Abdullah when he was in power, but I am not prepared to traduce him when he is in detention. I am against anybody being kept in detention and I am not going to say anything against him today. But let us not repeat the conditions that were responsible for what happened in the regime of Sheikh Abdullah.

I would like to say one word about the policy—perhaps the policy is not laid down yet—so far as West Asia is concerned. The Prime Minister some time before told us about the evolving of the South East Asia pattern of collective peace. Is there any pattern for West Asia also? From what I have been able to understand, I find that even a country, that is nearest to us—Egypt—has not understood what we are trying to do. Nasser, the Prime Minister of Egypt, in outlining his policy, talks about three circles—one, an Arab circle surrounding the people of Egypt; the second is the circle of Africa in which continent that country is placed; and the third is the Moslem world with which Egypt is tied with ties forged by religious faith and tightened by facts of history. This surely is not our perspective. Then again, he is anxious to have collective security pacts among Arab countries, and today's newspapers tell us that the two pacts are to run side by side, that is, the collective security pact on the one hand and the Turco-Iraqi Pact on the other, till such time as the two come together. But even that is not enough. I find that the whole approach is based upon a misunderstanding of India's policy. Some time back, the Prime Minister of Egypt, when he gave an interview to the Editors of the *U.S. News and World Report*, to which our Prime Minister also has given long interviews some months back, was asked this question:

> "In other words, the Communists are fairly sure already that they can do what they want in other parts of South East Asia without fearing any resistance from India, unless they attack India first."

The Prime Minister of Egypt replied:

> "Yes, unless India had a pact with other independent South East Asia countries."

Then there were these questions and answers:

> *Question*: "You mean with Ceylon, Burma...."
>
> *Answer*: "Yes, Thailand, Indonesia and so on. I think such a pact will safeguard the small nations depending on India."
>
> *Question*: "Do you see Egypt's role in the Middle East as similar to India's role in the Far East?"

Answer: "Yes, I think Egypt can collect a group around her, and if there is an attack, we will ask for help."

We have never believed in having such a kind of pact and if I understand the position aright, the policy that we have been trying to follow emphasises opposition to this kind of pact. But the Prime Minister of Egypt seems to think that when he tries to have a pact around him he is really emulating the policy of India.

I find, Sir, that the essential ingredients of the foreign policy of India are not always properly brought out. When I compare the two joint statements issued one on the occasion of the visit of the Prime Minister of China to India and the other on the occasion of the visit of the President of Yugoslavia to India, I find certain common things; but there was also a fundamental difference. In both the statements emphasis was put on the need for the emergence of an area of peace; both of them emphasised the concept of *Panch Shila;* both of them emphasised the idea of peaceful co-existence. But it was in the joint statement of Yugoslavia and India that the basic idea of our foreign policy was brought out. It was only in that statement where reference was made and reaffirmation made of the policy of non-alignment. It is absolutely necessary to note the difference between the idea of co-existence and the idea of collective peace, the idea of collective peace as it has been developed by India has as an integral part the need for non-alignment, the need of opposing any kind of formation of blocs. China does not accept that. Yugoslavia has accepted it. Egypt also does not accept it. Some countries in South-East Asia have accepted it, whether by understanding it, and responding to it, or it is only, as Mr. More said in another context, an agreement without understanding—I do not know.

At the Afro-Asian Conference this difference should not be shrouded over in silence. This morning I was surprised to hear the Prime Minister, perhaps consciously, refusing to make a distinction, to set up a demarcation line between the Chinese conception of co-existence and India's conception of collective peace. I am anxious that the Afro-Asian Conference should realise the distinction and to rally them, not behind the leadership of India, but round the banner of collective peace which ultimately is based upon certain profound moral principles to which the Prime Minister declared his allegiance this morning, and which form the death less heritage of our national movement.

The South-East Asia, was described by the Prime Minister on a previous occasion as a major area of peace and this area of peace is doubly menaced. It is menaced by the Manila Treaty which according to him is threatening almost to convert it into an area of potential war. It is equally menaced by the Communist Parties and their *sub-rosa* activities which spell external interference. If these are the two obstacles what are we doing to safeguard against them? It is here that Indo-China becomes of crucial importance. What happens in Indo-China will ultimately decide as to whether South-East Asia will remain an area of peace or an area of war.

As far as Indo-China is concerned, Professor Spencer in his remarkable Book *Asia East by South (A Cultural Geography)* has called it a state of many cultures. In the course of his brilliant study of Indo-China he says:

> "Though both Indian and Chinese cultural agents were active in Indo-China in the centuries before and after the start of the Christian era, they never met in head-on competition, nor did they struggle for control of the area that we know as one country."

We must induce China to accept this age-old, this traditional policy that Indo-China is the meeting-place for the cultures of India and China

[Shri Asoka Mehta]

It is the meeting place between these two great countries and the two great civilisations. China's attitude to Indo-China should be such as would make it possible for the two people to meet as friends, as fellow-workers in the common vineyard of freedom and prosperity.

It is gratifying to find that with Cambodia we have been able to develop valuable contacts and I hope they will grow. In the statement that was issued when the Prince of Cambodia visited us there was a particular reference to economic co-operation. In the Afro-Asian Conference also a certain amount of time is going to be devoted to problems of economic cooperation and of mutual aid. I find from what little information I have been able to collect that in Indo-China, for instance, the North, that is the Tonking area, is economically more developed and more prosperous. It is the Southern area, like Cambodia, and perhaps also Laos, which are economically very backward for a variety of reasons. I will not take up the time of the House by going into the details of it. But it is here that we have to give them help and support. We have got to create conditions whereby the plant of democracy can thrive, in these difficult regions. We have certain social patterns and purposes to give them; we have certain economic tools and techniques to give them. Are we working them out? Are we going to share these things with them properly?

I find that the Prime Minister of Burma, U Nu has repeatedly been emphasising the need for economic coordination and mutual aid in the countries of South-East Asia. But the necessary response has not been forthcoming from our Prime Minister. The time has come for us to move in this direction and march arm in arm with the Prime Minister of Burma in creating conditions where common social patterns and purposes and common tools and techniques can be developed. In this connection I hope the Asian-African Conference will be able to throw its tremendous weight behind the idea of SUNFED that we have been trying to put to the United Nations, so that a great idea may be actualised.

While I am on this Conference, I would like to say that I was surprised to find that in spite of the avowed opposition to racialism of the Prime Minister and of all the other Prime Ministers who decided to convene the Afro-Asian Conference, they thought it worth-while to invite the Central African Federation. That the Central African Federation turned down the invitation that merely adds poignancy to the situation. But I do not know why the Central African Federation—a white man's federation—should have been invited at all. I have no quarrel with the white man, provided he is prepared to treat as part and parcel, as citizens, all those who live in the same country. But the Federation is an oligarchic country. Why should an oligarchic country have been invited to a Conference of free people of Asia trying to discover themselves?

I shall only say a few words about *Panch Shila*. I am afraid the way *Panch Shila* is being bandied about, it will become nothing more than what the Brand-Kellogg Pact was The Briand-Kellogg Pact was signed by a number of countries. But what was the outcome of it? If this *Panch Shila* is to be meaningful then those accepting it must realise that *Panch Shila* is inconsistent with colonialism or creation of client States and it is equally inconsistent with the creation of Satellite regimes. I cannot understand Moscow talking about *Panch Shila* when a number of Satellite States revolve about it. I cannot understand the United States accepting *Panch Shila*. If *Panch Shila* only means this kind of co-existence, co-existence as my leader has pointed out of lambs in the belly of the lion, if the lambs are to live there and

that is to be called *Panch Shila*, then the great thing that our Prime Minister is trying to do will not go beyond what Briand and Kellogg achieved. I hope that when he goes to Moscow, he will use his undoubted influence to impress the great country, that if resurgence is to come about in this world, if a new spirit is to be imparted, nations must realise that every small nation has a right to live. Even a seventh rate nation as Mr. Chatterjee stigmatised Ceylon must have the same position and status as the first-rate nations. We must declare unequivocally our opposition to colonialism, and satellite creation and to the very concept of Great Powers in the world.

Shri Gadgil (Poona Central): I propose to deal with only two matters. One is about the migration of Hindus from East Bengal and the other is about Goa. So far as migration from East Bengal is concerned, it is assuming graver proportions. In the course of the last seven and a half years, if one were to draw up a graph as how things are happening, one finds that it is not merely an accident. But there seems to be some plan behind this. After every six months or a little more than that, somehow or other, migration of Hindus starts from East Bengal into West Bengal or India. I congratulate the Government of India for having dealt with the problem of refugees as ably as possible but there is a limit to the economic help that can be offered to the refugees. There is a limit to finding out avenues of employment; there is a limit also to the facilities that can be offered for rehabilitation. Apart from these, if the tendency which, in my humble opinion, is more than a tendency—it is a well thought out plan—were to continue for another ten or twenty years, we have to consider what will be its impact on our economy.

Broadly speaking, the number of Hindus who had come from Pakistan—whether East or West—into India and the properties that they had left there are far more than the number of Muslims who had migrated from India into Pakistan and the property they left behind. I am not approaching this question in the spirit of arithmetic. But if tensions are to be avoided, if the incidence on emotion in this country is to be less, I think some more enduring remedies ought to be found.

In the next May, the two Prime Ministers are meeting. May I suggest a remedy which has often been suggested but which had not been accepted, namely, some well-stated, well-timed, orderly plan for the exchange of population. This has been considered, as far as I know, by the Government of India several times. I am quite aware of the reactions of this but having seen the course of events for the last 7½ years and as far as one can visualise, one must very reluctantly come to the conclusion that this must be solved in as satisfactory manner as possible. In Europe after the First World War was over, the transfer of population to the extent of two million was achieved in an orderly manner so far as Greece and Turkey were concerned. In this country, after Partition some such thing was done not on a voluntary basis but by sheer compulsion of event and to that extent the problem has been solved, between East Punjab and West Punjab. I propose to pronounce no judgment on the desirability or the moral aspect of what has happened. But as practical men, not only concerned with what is happening today and what may happen a few years hence and what will be the impact of that on the economy of this country, I have put forth my suggestion without any prejudice or predelictions and without taking into consideration too much of the moral aspect of this. I suggest that this should at least be enquired into. This should at least be considered and if it is found in the long run that this is not the right solution, it may be rejected.

[Shri Gadgil]

What is happening in Pakistan in the political sphere? Of course, it is of some concern to us as neighbours but it is not good to pronounce on what is happening. I do not know what will happen not only in the immediate future but thereafter. But as far as I am able to see, the life and liberties of the Hindus—or I will put it in a general way—of minorities in Pakistan will not be as satisfactory as one would wish it to be. That is with respect to the problem of migration from East Bengal into this country.

As far as the question of Goa is concerned, I am more concerned with it because in my State, things are happening in such a way that nobody can afford to neglect what is happening. Meetings after meetings are held, processions after processions are taken out, batches of satyagrahis are going. I do not mind what they do. But I regret to say that this question which should be considered by every one and every party as concerning India as a nation has been used as a stick against the Congress Party and against the present Government. Although Goa is territorially a small matter, the full implications of this question are of wider significance. On a former occasion when I referred to Goa, I said that it was something like foreign matter in the eye and it must be handled with great delicacy, and I repeat the same thing.

It is impossible to believe the claim of the Portuguese Government, namely, that Goa is part of the metropolitan State. Very recently the Prime Minister of Portugal made a very big speech before the Parliament. In that speech he put up the case for Goa. Our case is very simple. It is that we want integration of Goa with India and by peaceful means. According to the Prime Minister of Portugal, Goa is not a part of India as such and therefore, he says that one of the two things must happen: either Portugal must transfer sovereignty of its own accord or there must be some strong unbreakable will expressed in appropriate actions by the people in Goa so as to make the Government of the day impossible. Otherwise, there is no solution. What is happening in Goa is sufficiently well known. This is no occasion because it is so well known that the people are Indian people; culturally also and if today what the Prime Minister of Portugal says is not happening, then the picture presented to the world is not correct. If I were only to borrow his own words used in a different context, what is happening in Goa is like this:

> "Indeed there is neither order nor justice, nor generally obeyed authority. The administration is in a state of chaos; public safety is non-existent; terror is made into a regime; there is destitution in private life."

If that is the state of affairs and if some such thing is happening just across our border there are certain obligations on us which we cannot refuse to discharge. I am not asking for any particular action to be taken here and now. I am only stating a proposition that there are certain obligations implicit in the situation itself which we cannot but discharge if we want to be true to our ideal.

We have been accused that it is not the Goa people that really want integration with India but that these are the whims of the Congress Party and the personal ambitions of the Prime Minister.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram (Visakhapatnam): Who says that? Salazar?

Shri Gadgil: I will quote Mr. Salazar:

> "We have here a misunderstanding therefore: it is not a question of a reasonable aspiration or imperative necessary on

the part of the Union, but of personal ambitions or party whims, in which the Prime Minister let himself be involved."

I think the Prime Minister and the Government of India and responsible leaders have made it clear time and again that the burden of *satyagraha* or of the liberation movement must be borne by the Goan nationals themselves, and this has been done so far. It is not for the first time that this agitation has started. On the last occasion when I spoke I traced the history and showed that right from the Sixteenth Century, that is from the century in which Portuguese rule was established, up to the time when Dr. Lohia entered the Goa territory, from time to time attempts have been made by the people, and it is not correct to say that there is no national sentiment and that the Goan people do not want to integrate with India.

In the course of the statement an astounding proposition has been made by the Prime Minister of Portugal. He says that the Goan people have no right to make any choice. He says that citizenship is not a matter of choice, citizenship is a duty which must be discharged, whatever happens. A philosophy of that kind, given expression to in modern days, only indicates that there are certain minds in this world which will never learn and which refuse to learn by the experience of history.

Obviously, there are three ways in which the problem can be solved: negotiation, military action or making Goa a completely independent State. So far as negotiations are concerned, I think the Prime Minister and the Government of India have offered opportunities time and again—in fact they have been charged by some critics that they have gone much too far, farther than they should have, that in fact they have departed from the self-respect of this country. To start negotiation with the Portuguese authority, the Prime Minister of Portugal says that there cannot be any negotiation unless you assure that the political sovereignty of Portugal will not be questioned. What is left for negotiation then, I do not know. So far as war is concerned, even the Portuguese Government admits, it is quite alive to the situation that a small country with limited resources cannot succeed.

But so far as the third alternative is concerned, the aspirations of the Goan people at one time, particularly in the early twenties, so far as I know, were that they wanted to be independent of Portugal, wanted to be a small State independent completely in all matters. By a legal legerdemain an Act was passed in 1934 or 1935, about that time, by which Goa, instead of being allowed to remain a Colony, was made part and parcel of the metropolitan State. And when the Goan people asked, "All right, we may not be allowed to integrate with India, let us be an independent State", the answer to that is, "No, that is not possible, because now you are part and parcel of the metropolitan State of Portugal". I think this is also astounding. The British Empire and British statesmen have always accepted this principle that colonial territories have a right, as they progress in political consciousness, as they become familiar with institutions of self-government, today or tomorrow they must be allowed to develop and become self-governing colonies. But even that possibility has been ruled out by the Prime Minister of Portugal, and in the concluding portion of his long address he says: I am completely in confusion, I do not know what will happen.

I do not know whether he will accept my advice. But if he does care to accept it I will merely ask him to trust our Prime Minister who will convert his mind from confusion into proper and orderly thinking. The question is very simple. The people do not want the Portuguese rule. In the legitimate way, in the constitutional way they have all done that. Now, I saw only in yesterday's paper that something that will make

[Shri Gadgil]

the Portuguese Government hear has happened. And I will not be surprised if in the course of a few weeks or months the agitation, instead of remaining within the strict framework of constitutionalism, breaks out in some other more effective and telling forms. The responsibility will then be entirely of the Portuguese Government.

What is our responsibility as citizens of this country? What is the responsibility of the Government? That is our trouble. I still feel that the policy of taking things quietly and in a dignified manner followed by the Government of India is useful. We have accepted pacifism not merely as a matter of political expediency or as a matter of mere political policy but we feel it is a mater of faith with us. Therefore nothing should be done to damage our faith in that way or our reputation in that connection. It is because we have steadfastly followed that policy that it has given us not merely as a country but even the world also good dividend in the shape of a peaceful atmosphere. I suggest that in spite of all kinds of lies published, about the Government of India's participation in liberating the enclaves—the charges made are that we have sent our Armed Forces there; even in lying there ought to be some decency, even that is not observed!—in spite of all that, I still insist on the same policy being followed for some time. And I have not the slightest doubt that in course of time—which I visualize will not be more than a year or two—we shall have the territory of Goa and the people of Goa integrated with us, as has been their ambition for over two centuries.

Shri D. N. Singh (Muzaffarpur North-East): As I was listening to the speech of Shri Asoka Mehta I was amazed when he made certain references to Kashmir. I do not want to say anything about that. But I would like to remind him and request him to remember that it is not desirable to say something about issues that are of national and international importance and to view them from a jaundiced and narrow partisan outlook. The problem of Kashmir is very serious, and the things there should not be exaggerated and thereby complicated.

He also said something about the rejection by the Central African Federation of the invitation to attend the Bandung Conference. No one need worry for that. If they are contented to provide an empty chair in the council of the Great Nations of Asia and Africa, they are welcome to do that. It is their Lookout.

Having said that, I would like to come to the main point on which I wanted to speak this evening: that is regarding our relations with the Commonwealth. Shri H. N. Mukerjee and the Members of the Communist Party always say that by joining the Commonwealth, we have compromised our position. I should say that that is not correct. So far as our relations with the Commonwealth are concerned, we have to look at this from two points of view, whether it is consistent with our national self interest and self respect and how far it is conducive to world peace. I feel that our relations with the Commonwealth will stand both the tests. Our relations with the Commonwealth differ from other members of the Commonwealth. We do not bear any allegiance to the Crown, on the other hand the Queen is regarded as the symbol of the free association of the members of the Commonwealth. Then, again our position differs from other members of the Commonwealth not only with regard to the subordination to the Crown, but also with regard to the subordination of the Government and Parliament of the United Kingdom. Other members of the Commonwealth act in the name of the Queen: their courts and their legislatures act in the name of the Queen. But, our legislature and our courts act in the name

of the President of the Republic who is the elected representative of the sovereign people of India. By being a member of the Commonwealth, we have got the right to be represented at the Commonwealth Conferences and to be kept informed of their views. The decisions of the Commonwealth Conferences are not a binding on us and so in the case with regard to treaties and declaration of War by other members of the Commonwealth. In this otherwise troubled and hysterical world, I feel that the presence of our Prime Minister has influenced the policy of the Commonwealth towards peace, sanity and stability. We have not been influenced by them; on the other hand, it is the policy of the Commonwealth that has been influenced by us. In this connection I would like to quote from an American magazine the *Look*, which says:

> "On April, 25, the British Cabinet met in emergency session and decided finally against military action in Indo-China. The decision was relayed to Mr. Dulles in Paris by Sir Anthony Eden. The U.S. officials learnt that Nehru in India had influenced the British decision by voicing violent objection to British American military action in Indo-China. Radford flew from Paris to London. The next day, conferred with British leaders in an effort to arrange some other joint action in Indo-China. But his mission failed."

What I would like to point out is that because of our association with the Commonwealth, we not only exercised some sort of a restraining influence on the policies of British, but also to a certain extent on the policy of the U.S.A. as well. As has been pointed out by the *Marxist Quarterly* of October, 1954,

> ".....if Britain took a firm stand for peace, the United States imperialists would be completely isolated and unable to carry forward their aggressive plans.
>
> The lesson of Geneva was that even a hesitant and half-hearted stand by Britain placed enormous difficulties in the way of United States policy."

Therefore, I feel that by being a member of the Commonwealth, we have tried to serve the cause of peace without compromising our position in 1952, when there was the danger of China being branded as the aggressor by the members of the Commonwealth, it was the presence of our Prime Minister that saved the situation. Let us not forget that Commonwealth means free, frank and enlightened discussion and not binding decisions which restrict freedom of action.

Another point that I would like to say is regarding the German rearmament. No doubt, that is a very ticklish problem and a difficult problem full of dangtrous possibilities. The reason behind the decision of the nine powers to arm Germany is that they have reconciled themselves to the idea that Germany cannot be united at the four power peace conference. The victors, by their own action, have taught the Germans, if they have taught them anything, that if in one thing—Hitler was right, it was that the world respects nothing but force. Only 35 years after the Treaty of Versailles and less than 10 years after the V.E. day, they are going to put the same tools of destruction and force in the hands of the Germans which were so desperately wrested from their hands. In this connection, I would like to read a short observation from the *New Statesman and Nation*, of 13th November, 1954.

> "The nine power treaty settles nothing about the future of Germany except that there will be no settlement at the Four Power Conference table.....the nine power treaty would rapidly transform a partitioned Germany into a European Korea and we should soon see two heavily armed satellite State committed to implace-

[Shri D. N. Singh]

able hostility and ultimately to war."

Let us not forget that no war in Europe can be a localised war. Any war there is bound to degenerate into a global atomic war, for there is no no man's land there. The tragedy of the situation is heightened all the more when we remember that it will not be possible for 12 divisions of the German Army to be made ready for use by the NATO Powers in less than 4 or 5 years. By that time, even according to the opinion of Sir Winston Churchill the west would have lost atomic superiority and a state of nuclear stalemate would be reached and then of what use this 12 Division German Army be? What I would like to point out is that the 12 divisions of German Army though not enough to over-awe the Russions would be enough to irritate them. Here is a point which has to be considered, all the more, because of wightening the prospect of a Four Power peace talks at a high level which is evident from the speech of the Soviet Prime Minister, from the speech of President Eisenhower and from the speech of Sir Winston Churchill.

Another point that I would like to make out is regarding this so-called treaty between the K.M.T. and Formosa. There is no doubt that it is a classic example of the kind of entangling alliances against which the first President of the U.S.A. warned his countrymen. It is an alliance between opposites and heightens tension and the dangers of war. In this connection, I would like to read a few lines from the *World Today*, a monthly magazine published by the Royal Institute of International Affairs:

> "We thus have the *reductio ad absurdum* of the proposition that Chiang Kai-shek has only to set his foot on the mainland for the Chinese nation to rise up in welcome: it appears instead that the United States is now being asked to engage itself to go to war if the Nationalist Army on Formosa itself revolts against Chiang's rule. This is indeed a delicate assignment. To convince sober statesmen that Chiang's army is true and steady and worthy of all the arms that America can spare, but that the U.S. army must stand ready to fight if Nationalist troops stage one of those righteous uprisings of which the civil war saw so many, would seem to call for a syllogism subtle almost beyond comprehension."

In the end, I would like to say that the only alternative to world war is world peace and co-existance. We can have world peace only on the principle of *Panch Shila* which have been so nicely proclaimed by our Prime Minister and have been adhered to by China and other Asian powers.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: As the debate proceeded during the course of the day, the impression has gained upon me that barring a few attempts at skirmishing from the flanks from my hon. friend Shri H. N. Mukerjee and certain very legitimate and logical doubts raised by my hon. friend Shri Asoka Mehta, there seems to be a general consensus of opinion in this House on the rightness or the soundness of the foreign policy of this country.

Talking of *Panch Shila*, I was rather surprised to hear from my hon. friend Shri Asoka Mehta a reference to the Kellogg-Briand Pact. My difficulty about *Panch Shila* is that it is a very vaguely worded statement without any process for adherences so to speak, much less ratification. Paragraph 4 says:

> "The Prime Ministers reaffirmed these principles and felt that they should be applied in their relations with other countries in Asia as well as in other parts of the world."

I am sure my friend Shri Asoka Mehta will not disagree with me when I say that since the *Panch Shila* document was drawn up, there were one or two other joint declarations made, firstly by the Prime Minister and Marshal Tito, and secondly by Colonel Gamal Abd El Nasser and our Prime Minister. As a student of documents, it occurs to me that these two joint declarations, that is, the Tito-Nehru, and the Nasser-Nehru declarations, contain certain accents, nuances, and shades of words and meanings which do not accord well with the *Panch Shila* document, with the result that I am emboldened, despite what my hon. friend Shri Asoka Mehta said earlier, that some sort of that old Kellogg—Briand Pact or declaration, known as the General Act for the pacific settlement of international disputes, should be made available. Now that the Prime Minister is going to Bandung, and in that Conference 25 nations of Asia and Africa are being represented at official level, some sort of *modus vivendi* must be made available there, so that as time marches on, the cumulative process of adhesion to *Panch Shila* would become a feasibility. I suggest it in all seriousness, for I am sure that there cannot be meetings between our Prime Minister and the spokesmen of individual countries, whether of Asia or Africa or beyond, each time to make a joint declaration so that the priciples of *Panch Shila* can be extended to the widest area possible in the political and military world of today.

About Bandung, I would like to say a couple of words. I am rather worried or concerned at the fact that of the 25 countries invited, there is quite a number including at least one of the sponsor-countries, namely of the Colombo Powers group, which have been and which are committed to continue to be partners in the SEATO and partners in the MEDO, with the result that the concurrent presence of sponsors and participants of SEATO and MEDO at Bandung might not possibly lead to happy results.

In any case, Bandung being a conference called at Government level must be pledged to secrecy. Without secrecy a conference of this character cannot possibly proceed. So I feel rather constrained to say that the inclusion in this list of invitees to Bandung of countries which are partners in SEATO and MEDO might lead to most dangerous consequences, and I hope that something will be done very soon to ensure that this sort of a rift or a conflict of interests at Bandung will be avoided.

Talking of Bandung, again I am glad the Prime Minister said that it was a challenge of free Asia to the rest of the world. I agree with him heartily. I do hope that it will not just stop at being a sort of counter-blast to Manila. I know that in the joint communique of the sponsoring Powers a strong reference was made to economic and technical assistance. I am not unaware of the fact that India during the past few years has been giving financial and other assistance to countries like Nepal, Burma and Thailand—I only mention three—in between involving more than Rs. 15 crores in cash, leaving aside assistance in material and other technical assistance. So when once the Bandung Conference resolves itself to become a permanent organisation, and builds up a Secretariat, a sort of sanctions behind activities of the various countries participant in it, I am sure it will become a forum for the expression of the sentiments and aspirations of Asia and Africa, which will be heard beyond the horizons of these two continents.

I was rather disheartened, even though I know the facts, to listen to my hon. friend Shri Asoka Mehta about what happened to certain Party members of his in Kashmir including his own personal case. But I am sure, as one who has recently, or I should say last year, when these things were happening, visited Kashmir himself—not for the first time

[Dr. Lanka Sundaram]

for I remember visiting Kashmir on the invitation of Sheik Abdullah himself in 1945,—and having made it my point as a citizen of India to study to the best of my ability, without any misrepresentation or being coaxed or pushed around by interested parties, I must say that these incidents which I deplore sincerely and which should not have been there, do not represent the statement or rather support the statement made by my hon. friend Shri Asoka Mehta when he said that the soul of the people of Kashmir is being crushed. I am here free to declare, even though I do not know whether the Prime Minister will permit me to do so, that after I returned from Kashmir last year I submitted to him a long note, supported by dozens and dozens of documents and posters giving the names of the people who were spies in Government, and also showing the existence of Pakistani cells in every corner of the State. The security of India is imperilled by the presence of these Pakistani and other anti-Indian elements in Kashmir. Even though I agree with my hon. friend Shri Asoka Mehta that political capital should not be made out of the ruling party in Kashmir by visiting vendetta—for example when I was there last year Shri Sundarayya of the Communist Party was there—I say I deplore these incidents, but the soul of the people of Kashmir is still safe. Only there are unfortunately development according to the party patterns which are taking shape now in Kashmir. I am here to declare once again with all sense of responsibility that the position in Kashmir is still very delicate. Pro-Pakistani elements are there; anti-Indian agitation is being carried on daily there, and evidence is mounting up even today as to the dangers of the presence of such foreign spies. So, we in this House in particular should approach the Kashmir question on a purely national basis, and despite the irritations of these unfortunate incidents of the character described by my hon. friend Asoka Mehta, we should always preserve our vision, and with the greatest calmness approach these problems.

I would not have the time to go through all the points raised in the debate here, but I would like to draw the attention of the Prime Minister to two or three very important issues which I feel have not been so far dealt with.

Recently a statement appeared in the Press that the Head of the State of Cambodia protested against the so-called interference represented by the work of our Commissions, namely the International Commissions, of which India is the chairman. Recently Prince Norodom Sihanouk was our guest here, and he had consultations with the Prime Minister. I would like to know whether as a result of this visit of the Prince from Cambodia, these so-called protests made earlier in the name of the Cambodia Government are still there, and whether we are still experiencing any trouble in that quarter.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: May I point out to the hon. Member that there have been no such protests except newspaper protests, and that the Prince himself replied to that?

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: Thank you.

The second point is this. Now that virtually a civil war is going on in Saigon,—an area which I had known very intimately some years earlier—I would like to know whether the developments as they are unfolding themselves in this State in Saigon and the South will interfere with our work, that is whether the clashes between the various armies and the South Viet Nam Government will interfere with our work as chairman of the three Commissions.

Thirdly, the other day in the Ceylon Parliament, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Defence and External Affairs in charge of the

Bill, namely the Emigrants and Immigrants (Amending) Bill said:

> "Ceylon had consulted India on the proposed amendment and secured her agreement."

I heard this morning the Prime Minister say a number of things about which we are still dissatisfied, and the manner in which and the basis on which the Ceylon Government is proposing to implement the agreement with India as regards registration, repatriation etc. of Indian nationals.

4 P. M.

I draw the attention of the Prime Minister to this particular statement because it was made by a spokesman —in a formal manner—in charge of a Bill, which the President of the Ceylon Democratic Congress, Mr. Thondaman, a man well respected by the Indian community, declared to be a serious threat to human rights and the civil rights of those persons who are legitimately residing in that country. I cannot presume that the Government of India could have given their consent to this amending Bill, but I feel a great deal of good will be done and it will be heartening to the people of Indian origin in Ceylon if the Prime Minister can deny this statement.

There is another point. Since the Japanese occupation of Burma, hundreds of thousands of evacuees of Indian origin returned to this country. I have myself represented to the External Affairs Ministry in this matter, and I have entered into correspondence with the Deputy Minister in particular in the case of a number of test cases. They relate to the cases of hundreds and thousands of Indians, petty businessmen, traders, artisans and so on and so forth whose assets have been completely lost in Burma. Up to the moment, not a single pie has been paid to them by way of compensation. Every time a statement is made on behalf of the External Affairs Ministry, that the overall question of the problem of evacuees and the rights of properties of Indians who have left Burma will be taken up, and until that is done nothing could be done to help these individual cases. I do sincerely trust that the Prime Minister, in view of the very cordial relations now existing between India and Burma, would pursue this matter, because I am convinced from personal knowledge of a number of cases that there is great hardship inflicted upon thousands of Indians who had left Burma as a result of a *force majeure*, namely, the Japanese Occupation.

Finally, there is one other point, and that is with reference to Pakistan. I agree with the Prime Minister that nothing should be said or done in this House or outside in the country which will make us embroiled in the domestic situations which are developing day to day in Pakistan, both East and West. But should like to say one thing, namely, that in view of the crisis now developing on two different planes, in West Pakistan and East Pakistan, we should be on our guard to see that no diversionary tactics—if I may use that word—like *jehad* and so on, would be resorted to by our neighbour country, which would ultimately lead to imperilling of the security of India, particularly with reference to Kashmir.

made in the report of the Ministry presented to us, and he also said something to a similar effect in his speech this morning, that the Prime Minister of Pakistan has been invited for talks to New Delhi in connection with Indo-Pakistan problems. Has the Prime Minister of Pakistan agreed to drop the preferred reference of the Kashmir question to the Security Council before the date was fixed a month and half hence for talks between him and our Prime Minister? Have the Government of India been assured that the Kashmir question will be settled across the table,

[Dr. Lanka Sundaram]

before the date for the talk was agreed to and finalised?

There is one other matter. It is a purely procedural point, Mr. Chairman. Demands for Grants have a certain special procedure in this hon. House. The subjects are indicated, then the cut motions are moved and then the debate proceeds. Unfortunately, today I find that neither were cut motions moved nor were Members of the House able to know what exactly would be the cut motions when they would be put to the vote.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member is conversant with the procedure that we have been adopting. We ask Members to send in their slips about cut motions, then the selected cut motions are announced in the House and at the time when the motion is put, all the cut motions are put to the vote of the House.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: With great respect, I submit that, though cut motions have been tabled by the Members concerned, the House does not know about them. That is the point.

Mr. Chairman: As a matter of fact, I have got the list before me for announcement. In respect of every Demand, an announcement about cut motions is made by the Chair. It has always been announced; in all these debates, for the last four or five days, this has been the procedure.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: It has not been put before the House.

Mr. Chairman: I have got the list in my hand. I have given more than the allotted time to Members to put in their cut motions.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: The only point I make is this. There would have been greater point if these cut motions were formally moved, so that every Member of the House knew about them. If I have made any wrong deduction on this score today on this particular question, I crave your indulgence.

Mr. Chairman: The following are the selected cut motions relating to various Demands under the Ministry of External Affairs which the hon. Members have indicated to be moved:

Demand No.	*No. of Cut Motions*
21	231, 794.
22	153, 232, 597, 598, 681, 796, 798, 799, 804, 807.

Policy towards foreign Missionaries working in Tribal Areas.

Shri Sivamurthi Swami (Kushtagi): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Tribal Areas' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Insufficient provision for welfare facilities in Tribal Areas.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Tribal Areas' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Continued refusal to allow Indians outside Portuguese territories to participate in movement for liberating part of our country occupied by Portugal.

Shri Sadhan Gupta: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'External Affairs' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Extravagance in our Embassies abroad and on delegations to foreign countries

Shri Sivamurthi Swami: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'External Affairs' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Basic principles of our Foreign Policy

Shri Khardekar (Kolhapur *cum* Satara): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'External Affairs' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Question of liberation of parts of India under Portuguese control.

Shri Khardekar: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'External Affairs' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Policy of dynamic neutrality leading to world peace

Shri Khardekar: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'External Affairs' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Adoption of Panch Shila as an international instrument for adhesion and ratification by States.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'External Affairs' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Imperialist machinations in the Middle East.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'External Affairs' be reduced by Rs. 100."

SEATO plans and their impact on freedom and peace in Asia

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'External Affairs' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Recruitment of Indians in Pondicherry to French Army

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'External Affairs' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Reported U.S. decision to use, if necessary, atomic and nuclear weapons as conventional weapons in Far East

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'External Affairs' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Mr. Chairman: All these cut motions are before the House.

Shri Brajeshwar Prasad (Gaya East): After listening to the Prime Minister's speech this morning with the care and attention which it deserves, I find that he has been very outspoken this time, more outspoken than he has been since 1947, when India became free. But I fail to understand one thing, and I would like the Prime Minister to elucidate this point. It is true that no two countries agree upon anything. This is the position in Asia. As far as the non-communist nations are concerned, they are not pulling on well together. It is very difficult to make them agree on any point. Then what is going to happen?

An Hon. Member: Nothing.

Shri Brajeshwar Prasad: Is this *status quo* going to last for long? There is a political vacuum in South East Asia as well as in the Middle East. Something has to be done, and if nothing is done because of disagreement, because of lack of cooperation between the nations of South East Asia and the Middle East, then a catastrophe will overtake them, because the laws of politics will not spare them. If they choose to agree, then they can live. If they show recalcitrance, they will be victims of aggression.

A point was made that a lion and a lamb cannot live together. True.

An Hon. Member: In a circus they can.

Shri Brajeshwar Prasad: I do not understand why there should be no

[Shri Brajeshwar Prasad]

co-existence possible. Co-existence, as I said last time on the floor of the House, means co-existence between India, China, Russia and America. Other nations must integrate. Those who are small, weak, and powerless cannot exist, unless they have got inherent power in themselves. No amount of peroration on the floor of this House can give life and strength to decadent bones.

The urgency of this is that there has been a change in American policy. The head of the American Government, President Eisenhower, is now prepared to talk to the head of the Russian State. What was not considered possible before has become possible now. I was just thinking what would be the agenda, what would these people talk about? Will they talk about America and Russia? Or will they talk about Asia, about the countries of South East Asia and the Middle East? Sir, I do not view that with favour. I am helpless. I cannot influence the course of events. But, I do not view with favour the impending meeting between President Eisenhower and the head of the Russian State. Because Yalta and Potsdam will be repeated once again. Asia will be divided into spheres of influence. South East Asia will go to the Americans. In support of this contention, a significant statement has appeared in the American papers. Now, the Americans say that China is a greater menace than Russia. They have given up all their talk of anti-Communisum and the days of the crusades are over. From their Olympian heights they have come down to solid earth. They say that China is a greater enemy. The meaning of this statement is that Russia must exercise restraint upon China, that Russia must oppose China and prevent China from interfering with the diabolical designs of the Americans in South East Asia. The plan is to establish an American Empire in South East Asia—in the Pacific from Japan to America. In lieu of this concession—if the Russians agree to it, I do not know whether Russia will agree to parley but we must bear in mind that at Teheran and Yalta President Roosevelt and Stalin did talk together and there was a division of spheres of influence—Russia will get her sphere of influence in the Middle East. I am apprehensive. Therefore, I suggest that something should be done at Bandung. There is a great scope for diplomacy. I am not speaking of the Prime Minister of India. He is not only my leader, he is the leader of this country, a top-ranking statesman and probably the greatest the world has at the present moment. I feel that it is risky to enter into entangling alliances. Entangling alliances, if they are supported by other factors, are not dangerous. I am in favour of a Joint Defence Council. The plan of a Joint Defence Council should be sponsored at Bandung. India and China, if they come together, I am sure, most of the countries of South East Asia will veer round. If India and China earnestly take up this question, there is no reason why Burma, Indonesia and some other countries may not agree because there is no alternative. Either they come together or disaster will overtake them. If the Russians agree to a division of the spheres of influence then, one by one, the countries of South East Asia and the Middle East will be wiped out. It is with this background in mind that I have been suggesting, since the last 9 years on the floor of this House—since 1947—that we must come together, that we must come closer to China and Russia. I do not wish to take up more time of the House, and resume my seat.

Shri Khardekar: I am a great admirer and humble supporter of the foreign policy of this country. And, I do so because it is a policy that pursues peace by means of fridendliness and dynamic neutrality. I want peace because, I think, life is worth living. The instinct for self-preservation is most dominant in all animals and, I hope we, human beings,

will not be less sensible than other animals. Our foreign policy is not a new thing to us. I think the *Panch Shila* has been there even before *Pancha Tantra* came into existence. Our foreign policy is an expression, if I may say so, of the Indian view of life, an expression of the Hindu religion in the field of politics. It has come to us right from Rama to Ramakrishna, and from Gautama to Gandhi. Our Prime Minister has, certainly, considerably strengthened it and very adequately advertised it. Since the attainment of independence the scope has been very much wider and leadership in this country has proved adequate. I do not see how our foreign policy could be anything very different. But, very often, listening to my friend Mr. Chatterjee and my friend Mr. Deshpande, I think, if Mr. Chatterjee were—particularly listening to him today—to be the Prime Minister of India and Mr. Deshpande the Minister for War—because that is the title he would like—I am quite sure our foreign policy would have been very different. But such a calamity is an impossibility because the Sabhaites are 2½ in the House and about twice that glorious number outside.

Now, I want to examine our foreign policy in the light of certain statements made. Before I do that very humbly, I wish to offer a framework of tests, external and internal. Our external test is, when bouquets, loud cheering and enthusiastic applause come from my right, that is the extreme left, then we should know that there is something wrong, as when the Prime Minister made a statement about American military aid and so on. Now, I think, we have attained the right course because there are some bouquets and some brickbats. Then, if from Mr. Deshpande and Mr. Chatterjee there is wholesale condemnation, we should be confident that we are 100 per cent on the right lines. And, whenever Mr. Deshpande sees a silver lining as he saw at that time when the Prime Minister spoke, we should know that very dark clouds are gathering above. Some times perversity contaminates sanity and you should not allow that to happen.

The internal evidence is, of course consulting our own conscience, whether we really have friendly feelings with all nations and people. That is the point. Of course, we can be the only authority.

Now, I think, I will consider some of the statements made by the Prime Minister and see whether they are quite consistent with the principles, which I strongly support. But in practice, being human beings we may commit mistakes and we are able to improve by our mistakes. Therefore, in a very friendly manner, I might point to certain statements which I thought should not have been made.

The Prime Minister referred to a speech by Robertson, the Assistant Secretary of State, where he had said that America intends to dominate Asia; that was very much resented to. But, I think that was a very honest statement. Both the blocs want to dominate Asia. Let us try to understand why they want to dominate. They want to dominate neither for material gains nor for the revival of colonialism. I do not think so. They want to dominate for ideals and ideological purposes and we should try to steer clear between these two dangers. Rather, if I may use the expression, I should say derive benefits from both the blocs, personal liberty and democratic institutions from England and America and the idea of economic justice from Russia. We ought to adopt what I may call the *hansa Ksheera nyaya*. Our ideal should be a fusion of these two ideals. There does not seem to be anything contradictory and by this fusion we may be able to say to the world that it is possible to establish in this country an ethical socialism and thereby these our friends who are the enemies of each other may ultimately also see good sense from our particular example. There are some people who think that those who try to be friendly with all end by having no friend at all. My friend, Shri Deshpande, is

[Shri Khardekar]

not here, but his advice has been that the enemy of an enemy should be our friend. In the light of experience I do feel that it is possible for one to be friendly with all. May I narrate an interesting story. In China, Ching Chu, a beautiful young girl, had two lovers and her father was anxious to get her married. He asked her to tuck up that sleeve, indicating her lover—one lover lived on the right side and the other on the left side of their house. The clever girl tucked up both the sleeves and the poor old man looked bewildered. She very quietly and modestly said "I would like to live with the handsome one and eat with the rich one". Some of our friends here have two wives and at least some of them love both of them—and I see no difficulty—because you can love the younger one for her beauty and the elder one for her cooking.

There is another statement made by the Prime Minister in reply to Eisenhower's letter. "In making the suggestion of aid, the President has done less than justice to us or to himself". I think this is unduly sarcastic—that is my humble opinion —because it is quite true that America has not understood us. But have we tried to understand America? We must know that they want to prevent communism at any cost and they can pay any cost, we know. We must know that if Pakistan was born yesterday America has come on the scene only recently. They are not a very mature nation; they are full of wealth and 'where wealth accumulates, men decay'. The Prime Minister referred to some people as lunatics; we must not use such words. We must have friendly feelings and we want to introduce some sanity in them. We know that their head has grown wonderfully big and their heart has contracted. The sky-scrapers are their heavens and Mr. Ford their God. As a result of the Prime Minister's speechs on the American military aid to Pakistan, some Congressmen almost surpassed the communalists in this country; taking out processions, holding meetings and making very inflammatory speeches. It is a strange thing that sometimes a great historian does not quite understand history. The Prime Minister said that the acceptance of American aid by Pakistan was a reversal of history. My point is that if India were to accept that help, it would have been a complete reversal of history. Pakistan's acceptance of the aid is a confirmation of history. Of course, all great religions, in important matters, are the same, but let us consider the fundamental principles of Islam and Hinduism. Islam has achieved a brotherhood among Muslims; Hinduism strives to achieve universal brotherhood. There is no doubt that Islam has been aggressive and it was spread on the strength of the sword. Hinduism has always been tolerant and it believes in persuasion, and it has never forced its principles on others. We also must try to understand and sympathise with Pakistan. Pakistan requires our sympathies because it has no leadership, its economic condition is bad and its other things are probably much worse. I would very much like to refer to the statement made by the Prime Minister in reply to a question asked last year. "What about Pakistan?" The Prime Minister said. "We wish Pakistan well". That is our feeling and I may give a friendly advice to the Prime Minister to spend a month or so in Pakistan every year because the leadership there has completely crumbled; when a neighbouring country becomes a laughing stock of the world, it is not very creditable to us. We are after all one, though as nations we are two, but we would not like the Prime Minister to be away for a long time, but "absence makes the heart grow fonder" and we will love him all the more. The Prime Minister may supply Pakistan the necessary sanity, balance and a sense of values; these words I would

not have used if they were to be published, but it is not likely. Even my name is not properly written by the newspapers.

Speaking about colonialism, the Prime Minister once said "it angers us very much". Of course, moral indignation indicates moral health. But controlling indignation gives you mastery over yurself—"self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control. These three alone lead life to sovereign power." Our store of spiritual wealth is boundless because when even a hard-boiled, vituperative, volcanic, *de facto* leader of the Communist Party cannot resist the temptation of reciting verses from *Bhagwad Gita*, I think this country can be justly proud of its spiritual strength. We should not allow ourselves to be irritated because we should be as grave as the ocean, firm as the Himalayas, powerful as Vishnu and forgiving as mother earth.

समुद्रमिव गांभीर्ये स्थैर्ये च हिमवानिव,
विष्णुना सदृशो वीर्ये क्षमया पृथ्वीः समः

Because we want to establish peace and because the atmosphere around is not very congenial, we should be very particular about everthying that we say. I know the Prime Minister is a very eloquent speaker, but when a long speech is made by him, a word here or there slips out. But when we are dealing with a very delicate subject, I would request the Prime Minister that in important policy matters, his statements should be read out.

I wanted to speak about Goa, because Goa is very near to my place and very dear to my heart, but I do not think I will be able to finish my speech unless you allow me five or six minutes more.

Mr. Chairman: He may finish it within 1½ or 2 minutes. The hon. Prime Minister is to reply at 4-30 P.M.

Shri Khardekar: There is a saying "See Naples and die". But I would request you not to die till you have seen Goa and free Goa. That will give you a long life; we are not in a hurry. I am a firm believer—it is one of my own sentences—that a person in hurry is a person of unsound mind and a government in hurry is a government in chaos. With regard to Goa, the Goa people want to be with us and we want that they should be with us, for children would like to go to their mother, though, of course, not to Morarji.

I now come to the important point and that is: why not allow Indian satyagrahis to enter Goa? We ought to know what will happen. The Britishers were different. The Englishman was very different. After all, he was a civilised gentleman. Even the Frenchman is certainly very much cultured. I do not want to condemn the Portuguese because I may have to go there some time, but they are very raw and our satyagrahis know this very well. If Shri Asoka Mehta wants to go there, I can slip him into Goa any time, but those who want to go there want to go with a lot of noise, with a lot of publicity and they know they will be treated badly by the Portuguese Government. That puts this country into a wrong position. Certain steps have to be taken, and if we take direct steps, waging a war just because Goa is a small country or doing something on those lines, India will be doing a mean thing against her principles. I think these suggestions are very bad. We must consider Goa as it is. Goans are intelligent people; they have a national consciousness. The only thing is that they are extremely poor. Let us put Goa on the Plan, in the Second Five Year Plan. Let us help them economically and make them strong enough. All those who feel for Goa should contribute, the P.S.P. and others. If they become economically independent, Goa's problem will be solved. I think that will put the Portuguese Government to shame. After all we must remember: the dial of time declares the doom of tyranny.

CONSTITUTION (FOURTH AMENDMENT) BILL

PRESENTATION OF REPORT OF JOINT COMMITTEE.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): I beg to present the Report of the Joint Committee on the Bill further to amend the Constitution of India.

Mr. Chairman: I understand that a note of dissent is appended to this Report, but it is not appended to the Report as it is usually done. The hon. gentleman who wanted to attach this note of dissent, Shri Surendra Mahanty, of the Rajya Sabha, placed the note in the hands of the Office one day earlier than the conclusion of the consideration of the Report. This is the first instance of its kind. I have never seen a note of dissent appended in this manner—before the Report was completed and finally considered. He has also said that he would like to retain certain parts of his note of dissent only and the rest may be exorcised if the Report takes a particular form. It is very difficult for the Office to tamper with a note of dissent. I, therefore, am not inclined to accept this note in this manner. This is my first impression. I would like that the hon. Speaker takes the entire matter into consideration and passes such orders as he thinks fit. If he accepts the note of dissent, it will be appended to the Report and circulated; otherwise, it will not be treated as part of the Report.

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS FOR 1955-56.

DEMANDS re MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू : पहली बात तो मैं बहुत अदब से यह पेश करना चाहता हूं कि न हमारी इच्छा है और न हमारी शक्ति है कि हम सब दुनियां को अपनी मर्जी से चलायें। अकसर लोक-सभा के सदस्य हम से नाराज होते हैं कि यह क्यों नहीं किया, वह क्यों नहीं किया, उस मुल्क में यह आफत क्यों आई और वहां किसी ने गलत बात क्यों की गोया सारी दुनिया हमारे कब्जे में है और हम से सलाह मशाविरा कर के काम किया करती है। जाहिर है, कि यह बात नहीं है। दुनिया तो बहुत बड़ी चीज है, हमारे देश में बहुत सारी बातें होती हैं, जैसे कि हर देश में हुआ करती हैं, जो कि हमारे काबू में नहीं हैं। अगर इस लोक-सभा की शक्ति होती कि जो हमारे मन में है उस को हम एक दम से देश में कर दें, तो हम देश के सारे दुःख खत्म कर देते, सब बातें पूरी हो जातीं और यहां के सब २५, २७ करोड़ लोग खुशहाल होते, उन के लिये काम काज होते और कोई कठिनाई या तकलीफ नहीं रहती। जाहिर है कि हम यह नहीं कर सकते। समय लगता है, काम कठिन है। अगर्चे हम उस रास्ते पर जा रहे हैं, लेकिन समय लगता है इन बातों के करने में। कम से कम मैं तो इस में विश्वास नहीं करता कि इस में आसमान, तारों या ज्योतिष की कुछ जिम्मेदारी है और जो लोग इस में विश्वास रखते हैं वह गालिबन असलियत नहीं देखते, इसी विश्वास में पड़े रहते हैं। तो टीका करनी इस बात की कि वहां यह क्यों नहीं हुआ और वहां क्यों यह खराबियां हैं, ठीक है, खास कर जनता के द्वारा। लेकिन जो बात हमें देखनी है वह यह नहीं कि हमारे दिमाग की बातें, हमारे स्वप्न, हमारे ख्वाब क्यों नहीं पूरे हुए, बल्कि यह कि जिधर हम जा रहे हैं वह ठीक रास्ता है या नहीं। मुमकिन है कि हल्के हल्के काम हो, आखिर दुनियां में कोई बात हो, कोई मुल्क तरक्की की तरफ अपने को ले जाय, तो यहां कोई ऐसा नहीं है जो न चाहे कि और देशों की तरक्की न हो। जरूर होनी चाहिये, जल्दी से जल्दी होनी चाहिये, लेकिन अगर आप मुझसे कहें कि मैं इस बात को कहूं कि वह जल्दी हो जाय, तो मैं ऐसा कहने के लिये तैयार नहीं हूं। इस के माने यह नहीं है कि हमें अच्छा नहीं लगता है, यकीनन अच्छा लगता है, लेकिन हो सके तब ना। अगर हम ऐसा कहते हैं तो अपने को

असलियत से हटाते हैं कि क्या हो सकता है और क्या नहीं और महज एक ख्वाब की दुनियां में हो जाते हैं। मैं अदब से अर्ज करूंगा कि इस तरह की बातें कहने से कोई फायदा नहीं होता। हमें आज कल के प्रश्नों को देखना है, और आज कल के प्रश्नों और सवालों को देख कर उन को हल करने की कोशिश करनी है। उन को हल करने में बहुत सी कठिनाइयां हैं, इस वास्ते हम उन को हल नहीं कर सके हैं, सारी दुनिया के विद्वान कोशिश कर रहे हैं फिर भी उन को हल नहीं कर सके, और दुनियां एक गलत रास्ते पर चली जाती है। अगर हमारी लोक-सभा के साथी जो उस पार बैठे हैं समझते हैं कि अगर दुनियां उन की राय पर चले तो सब सवाल हल हो जायें, तो मुमकिन है कि यह बात हो लेकिन कठिनाई यह है कि उन की बात पर लोग चलने को तैयार नहीं होते हैं, मैं क्या करूं ? या तो एक खास राय पर सारी दुनियां चले जिस से सारे सवाल हल हो जायें, इधर या उधर, लेकिन एक राय पर आज दुनियां चलने को तैयार नहीं है। अलग अलग देश अलग अलग राय पर चलते हैं जिस की वजह से कशमकश होती है, लड़ाई, दंगे और फिसाद होते हैं। तो इन सवालों को देखने में हमें इस बात को याद रखना चाहिये कि अगर मैं एतराज करूं भी तो किस बात पर ? मैं यह इस लिये नहीं कहता कि जो साउथ ईस्ट एशिया के लोग हैं या वेस्ट एशिया के लोग हैं उन की चालें हलकी हैं बल्कि इस लिये कि चालें उलट गई हैं। एक हमारे माननीय सदस्य ने, शायद श्री खाँडेकर ने, याद दिलाया कि मैं ने कहा था रिवर्सल आफ हिस्ट्री। यानी जो अमरीका की फौजी मदद पाकिस्तान में आई थी उस के लिये मैं ने कहा था कि यह रिवर्सल आफ हिस्ट्री है। उन्होंने कहा कि अगर हिन्दुस्तान के लिये मैं ऐसा कहता तो सही हो सकता था, लेकिन पाकिस्तान के लिये वह सही नहीं था। मैं उन की बात से मुत्तफिक नहीं हूं। हिन्दुस्तान ने यह हर्कत बहुत दफे की है, हिन्दुस्तान का दामन कोई साफ नहीं रहा है, हजार दफे झुका है, गंदा हुआ है, काफी कीचड़ उछला है। लेकिन सवाल यह है कि आज कल उस का दामन कैसा है ? इतिहास का सवाल वहां पर नहीं है। बहरहाल जो मैं ने रिवर्सल आफ हिस्ट्री की बात कही थी वह हिन्दुस्तान या पाकिस्तान के लिये नहीं कहा था। मैं ने कहा था कि एशिया बाज हिस्सों में अब यूरप, अमरीका वगैरह मुलकों की हुकूमत से अलग जरूर हो रहा है। एशिया जाग रहा है, और इतिहास की यह तेज रफ्तार उसे एक तरफ ले जा रही है, यानी आजादी की तरफ। तो मेरा मतलब यह था कि अगर यहां पर कोई एशिया का हिस्सा बजाय आजादी की तरफ जाने के दूसरी तरफ जाय तो वह दरिया का बहाव उलट जाना है। मेरे दिल में कोई शक नहीं है कि किसी मुल्क का किसी दूसरे मुल्क से फौजी मदद पाना अपनी आजादी को खत्म कर देना है। इस सिलसिले में मैं ने यह कहा था और इसी सिलसिले में मुझे यह बात परेशान करती है, और किसी कदर यह ख्याल दिक करता है, कि आज जो बातें साउथ ईस्ट एशिया और वेस्ट एशिया में हो रही हैं उन के लिये कहा तो यह जाता है कि वह मुल्कों को आजाद करने के लिये हो रही हैं, लेकिन असल में वह मुल्क बड़े मुल्कों के दबाव में आते जाते हैं। इस मामले में मैं नहीं चाहता कि मैं कुछ दूसरे बड़े मुल्कों की निसबत नुक्ताचीनी करूं या निन्दा करूं क्योंकि इस से कुछ लाभ नहीं होता है, और ख्वाहमख्वाह के लिये लोग चिढ़ते हैं, लेकिन साफ बात यह है कि श्री मुकर्जी ने बड़े जोरों से कहा कि प्राइम मिनिस्टर हमेशा मुकाबिला करते हैं दो बार ब्लाक्स का, बार ब्लाक तो एक ही है, दूसरे का दामन साफ है। बार का शब्द आप छोड़ दें। हालत तो यह है कि इस वक्त दुनियां में दो बहुत बड़े, बहुत शक्तिशाली मुल्क हैं, इस में मुझे कोई शक नहीं है, और वह दोनों एक दूसरे से डरते हैं, घबराते हैं। दोनों इस अन्देशे में कि शायद दूसरी तरफ से लड़ाई शुरू हो जाय, लड़ने की तैयारी करते हैं। जब दूसरे को खौफ होता है तो वह पहले से भी ज्यादा तैयारी करता है और उस को देख कर पहले वाला और भी ज्यादा तैयारी करने

[श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू]

लगता हैं। आज हम इस पंच में पड़ गये हैं और इस लिये वह बड़े मुल्क छोटे मुल्कों को अपने साथ में लाना चाहते हैं, उस तरह से नहीं जैसे पहले लाते थे, अपना साम्राज्य बढ़ा कर, वह जमाना गया। लेकिन दूसरी तरह से अपने साथ में लाना चाहते हैं ताकि अगर लड़ाई हो तो आने वाली लड़ाई में वह उन से फायदा उठायें। इसके दो जुज हैं और वह यह कि दूसरे मुल्कों को अपने साए में लाना चाहते हैं ताकि दूसरे मुल्क उनको अपने साए में न ले जाएं। इस कशमकश में चला जाता है और फिजा खराब होती जाती हैं। इस में किसी को बुरा भला कहने का सवाल नहीं हैं। पंच शील का जिक्र हुआ। पंच शील का खास मकसद यह हैं कि युद्ध रूके। इसके साथ ही साथ दूसरे मुल्कों के अंदरूनी मामलों में दखल न देना, बाहिरी हमला न करना। नान इंटरफीयरेंस इन दी एफेयर्स आफ दी अदर कंट्रीज बड़ी जरूरी बात हैं, युद्ध रोकने की बात हैं क्योंकि असलियत यह हैं कि इस वक्त इंटरफीयरेंस बहुत ज्यादा होती हैं, बड़े जोरों से होती हैं, जाबते से होती हैं और बेजाबते से होती हैं, हर तरह से होती हैं, हर तरफ से होती हैं, दोनों फरीकों की तरफ से होती हैं।

हम अकसर सवाल उठाते हैं, क्रिश्चियन मिशनरीज का। हमारे लोक-सभा के कुछ लोग उनकी कार्रवाइयों से बहुत परेशान होते हैं। वे यह बात भूल जाते हैं कि क्रिश्चएनिटी हिन्दुस्तान का एक बहुत पुराना मजहब हैं और हमें उन्हें यहां रहने का पूरा मौका देना हैं और यह हमारे कान्स्टीट्यूशन (संविधान) में भी माना गया हैं और यह हमारी नीति भी हैं। हां अगर पोलिटिकल ढंग से कोई शख्स पर्दे के पीछे कुछ करे तो दूसरी बात हैं। इस तरह से कई क्रिश्चियन मिशनरीज की चर्चा होती हैं, लेकिन आजकल जो असल में मिशनरीज हैं वह दूसरी किस्म के हैं। मैं बाहर के मिशनरीज के बारे में कह रहा हूं अन्दरूनी लोगों के बारे में नहीं कह रहा हूं क्योंकि अन्दर हर एक को हक हैं कि वह अपने विचारों का शान्तिमय तरीकों से प्रचार करें। लेकिन बाहर के लोग जब आकर ऐसा करते हैं तब वह जो पंच शील का असूल हैं टूटता हैं। याद रखिये जो लोग बाहर के आते हैं चाहे एक तरफ के हों चाहे दूसरी तरफ के, कम्युनिस्ट शास्त्र को पढ़ाने आते हों या एंटी कम्युनिस्ट शास्त्र को पढ़ाने आते हों, तरीके चाहे उन के अलग अलग हों लेकिन दोनों आकर बड़े जोरों से हमें पढ़ाने की कोशिश करते हैं। मैं चाहता हूं कि वे हमें पढ़ाएं माकूल चीजें और नामाकूल चीजों में हम नहीं पड़ना चाहते। आखिर किताबों से भी हम पढ़ सकते हैं। विचारों को हम रोक नहीं सकते लेकिन मुझे इस बात पर एतराज हैं कि बाहर से इस तरह का हमारे ऊपर दबाव डालने के लिए हमारे मुल्क में लोग आएं चाहे वह कम्युनिस्ट हों चाहे एंटी कम्युनिस्ट हों, चाहे वे रूस से आएं, चाहे अमरीका से आए और चाहे व चीन से आएं, इस में मुझे एतराज हैं और मैं यह नहीं चाहता। मैं यह चाहता हूं कि वे दोस्ताना तौर पर हमारे पास आएं, हमारे साथ बातें करें और बहस करें, इस में मुझे कोई एतराज नहीं हैं। आप जानते भी हैं कि हमारे यहां बहुत लोग आ भी रहे हैं। लेकिन इस नियत से अगर कोई आए कि हमारे अन्दरूनी काम में चाहे वह स्यासी हो, चाहे आर्थिक हो चाहे कोई और हो और चाहें कि हम इधर से उधर जाए या उधर से इधर जाएं तो यह बात झगड़े की हैं, चाहे अच्छी हैं चाहे बुरी हैं, लेकिन झगड़े की हैं और इस से झगड़ा पैदा होता हैं और फिजा खराब होती हैं। हम चाहते हैं कि प्रोफेसर आएं, बातें करें, लेक्चर दें और लोग जो कहते हैं सुनें। लेकिन पंच शील का जो बुनियादी उसूल हैं अगर उसको ईमानदारी से स्वीकार कर लिया जाए और वह यह हैं कि बाहर के लोग दखल न दें, अगर आप इसको मान लेते हैं और दुनिया मान लेती हैं तो यकीनन आज जो झगड़े हैं उनमें से ९० फीसदी हल हो सकते हैं, इस में कोई शक की बात नहीं हैं। इस मोटी बात को याद रखिये। मैं तो बहुत अदब से उन मुल्कों से जो कि इस तरह से अपने मिशनरीज

भेजते हैं कहूंगा कि वह जमाना गुजर गया और अब उनका उलटा असर होता है जिस से न तो उनको फायदा होता है और न किसी और को, खाली झगड़ा ही बढ़ता है। आज कल मिशनरीज से काम नहीं चलेगा बल्कि जो कोई मुल्क कुछ कर के दिखाएगा और वह अच्छी बात होगी तो उसका असर दुनिया पर अच्छा होगा, इस में कोई शक की बात नहीं है। हम जो अच्छी बातें अंग्रेजों के मुल्क में देखते हैं और जो हमें अच्छी लगती हैं उनका हमारे ऊपर असर होता है और मुमकिन है उनकी हम नकल भी करें। हम ने अमरीका में जा कर देखा कि उन्होंने बड़ी तरक्की की है और हमारे ऊपर असर हुआ है। अगर हम अमरीका सीखने जाएं उन से सीखेंगे, उन के लेक्चरों से और देखकर। इसी तरह से रूस जाएं, जो रूस की बातें हमें पसन्द आएंगी उनका हम पर असर पड़ेगा। असल बात यह है कि वह जमाना गया कि किसी की कागजी और हवाई बातों पर चला जाए। आजकल जो कोई मुल्क कुछ काम करके दिखाएगा, अपने मुल्क की तरक्की कर के दिखाएगा उस मुल्क का यकीनन असर दूसरों पर पड़ेगा, चाहे वह रूस हो, चाहे चीन हो, चाहे अमरीका हो चाहे कोई और मुल्क हो। जिस मुल्क के तरक्की करने का तरीका हमारी समझ में आ जाएगा उसका हमारे ऊपर असर होगा। यह बात कि इस खिड़की से देखा जाए और उस खिड़की से न देखा जाए, गलत है। अगर हम ने किसी मुल्क पर असर डालना है तो हम सिर्फ पंच शील से ही नहीं, या बहस कर के ही नहीं और और कोई ऐसी बात कर के नहीं डाल सकते बल्कि मुल्क में जो काम करते हैं उन से डालेंगे। अगर इस वक्त दुनिया के अकसर लोग हिन्दुस्तान आ रहे हैं---बड़े बड़े आदमी आ रहे हैं और बहुत से लोग जिन का अखबार में नाम नहीं आता, छोटे दलों में आते हैं, डेपुटेशंस आते हैं, वे काफी तादाद में क्यों आ रहे हैं। यह इसलिए है कि दुनिया में हमारी शोहरत है कि हिन्दुस्तान तरक्की कर रहा है, तेजी से बढ़ रहा है जिस का कि उन पर बहुत असर पड़ा है। लेकिन इत्तिफाक की बात यह तक नहीं पहुंची और दुनिया तक पहुंच गई है। ये बिल्कुल नावाकिफ हैं। वे ऐसी कोई कोठड़ी में दरवाजा बन्द कर के बैठे हैं कि जरा भी रोशनी अगर अन्दर आती है तो सुराखों में भी रूई डाल देते हैं और उनको बन्द कर देते हैं। अजीब हालत है। चुनांचे हिन्दुस्तान का जो असर दुनिया पर हुआ है वह मेरी स्पीचों के कारण नहीं हुआ है, ना ही लोक-सभा ने जो प्रस्ताव पास किए हैं और जो कानून बनाए हैं उनके कारण हुआ है। हिन्दुस्तान के लोग क्या करते हैं, जिस तरह से दिखाते हैं कि एक मजबूत मुल्क है, मेहनती हैं, तरक्की कर रहे हैं, आगे बढ़ रहे हैं हम मुल्क को ऊंचा कर हैं, इन सब बातों से असर हुआ है।

हमारे कम्युनिटी प्रोजेक्ट्स हैं। इन का असर दुनिया पर हुआ है और शायद बहुत ज्यादा हुआ है। वैसे तो बड़ी बड़ी और भी चीजें बन रही हैं जैसे भाखड़ा, दामोदर घाटी योजना जिन का असर दुनिया पर हुआ है लेकिन सब से ज्यादा कम्युनिटी प्रोजेक्ट्स से हुआ है, क्योंकि यह चीज एक ऐसी है जो खास तौर पर एशिया के लिए मौजूं है, पिछड़े हुए मुल्कों के लिए मौजूं है। एशिया के कितने ही मुल्कों के लोगों ने इन को आकर देखा है। हम आजकल परेशान हैं, हमारे पास कम लोग हैं। चारों तरफ से मांग आ रही है। एशिया के आधे मुल्कों से हमारे पास मांगे आई हैं और यह हमारी पालिसी की वजह से नहीं है बल्कि हम ने जो तरक्की की है उसकी वजह से है।

मैं फिर पंच शील पर आता हूं कि यह जो पंच-शील नाम रखा गया एक बहुत पुराना नाम है और पंच शील के एक दूसरे मायने भी हैं। इंडोनेशिया में उनकी हकूमत पंच शील पे मबनी है और वह उनके दूसरे पंच शील हैं। यह पुराना शब्द है, अच्छा भला है, मौजूं है, इस लिए रखा गया है। इसके असल में मायने यह हैं कि एक मुल्क दूसरे मुल्क के अन्दरूनी मामलों में दखल न दे, बेजावता दखल न दे, जबरन दखल न दे, पैसे से, फौजों से या किसी और जरिये से दखल न दे। लेकिन जहां एक

[श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू]

पड़ता हैं तो वहां पर दबाव नहीं रहता और न ही डर की भावना ही रहती हैं और आजादी से एक चीज बढ़ती हैं जैसे कि एक पौदा बढ़ता हैं या एक दरख्त बढ़ता हैं । दो एक बातें अशोक मेहता जी ने कही थीं, उनका मैं जिक्र कर दूं । उन्होंने "नेफा" यानी नार्थ ईस्ट फ्रांटियर एजेंसी के बारे में जिक्र किया था । उन्होंने कहा कि वहां पर तीन बलवे हुए, अन्दरूनी झगड़े हुए, इस साल भर के अन्दर, और हम लोग वहां नहीं जाने पाये । उन्होंने कहा कि वहां का बहुत खराब हाल हैं, वगैरह वगैरह । मुझे यकायक याद नहीं आता कि वह कौन तीन झगड़े हैं जिनका उन्होंने जिक्र किया हैं । आप याद रखें कि वहां पर किसी हुकूमत का इन्तिजाम नहीं रहा हैं । हजारों सैकड़ों वर्षों के बाद वहां पर कोई गवर्नमेंट का इन्तिजाम किया जा रहा हैं । और मुझे शक हैं कि दुनिया में कहीं भी इतनी शान से और इतनी शान्ति से इन्तिजाम शुरू किया गया हो जैसा कि इस इलाके में किया जा रहा हैं । मैं अशोक मेहता जी से इस तरह की कोई मिसाल चाहता हूं । हमने वहां पर इतनी शान्ति के साथ इन्तिजाम करना शुरू किया हैं कि मुझे दुनिया में इसकी कहीं कोई मिसाल नहीं मिलती । मैं चाहता हूं कि वह मुझे ऐसी कोई मिसाल दें ।

आप कहते हैं कि वहां पर तीन झगड़े हुए । तीन झगड़ों के बारे में तो मुझे मालूम नहीं, लेकिन एक झगड़ा जरूर हुआ हैं । थार्मेटिंग गांव वालों ने पांगशा गांव के एक आदमी को मार दिया । वह पहाड़ी डाकिया था । पांगशा गांव वालों ने भी जोश में आकर थार्मेटिंग गांव पर धावा बोल दिया और वहां पर ५० आदमी मार दिये । यह गांव वालों का आपस का झगड़ा था, इसमें गवर्नमेंट का कोई सवाल नहीं था । याद रखिये कि ये वे जगहें हैं जहां पर कि कल परसों तक हैड हंटिंग होता था । वहां पर सिर काट कर टांग देने का एक मामूली खेल था । वह बमुश्किल खत्म हुआ हैं । जो झगड़ा हुआ वह यह था कि एक आदमी एक गांव वालों ने मार दिया, दूसरे गांव वालों ने आकर उस गांव के चालीस पचास आदमी मार दिये । यह बहुत बुरा हुआ । लेकिन यह दो गांवों का झगड़ा था जो कि पहले से चला आता था । इसके लिए अशोक मेहता जी ने गवर्नमेंट पर इल्जाम लगाया । हां, वह इल्जाम लगा सकते हैं कि क्यों उन लोगों को इतना ऊंचा नहीं उठाया गया कि वह ऐसा न करते, या यह कि एक एक गांव में गवर्नमेंट का इन्तिजाम क्यों नहीं था । लेकिन अगर आप गौर करें तो यह एंतराज बहुत जा नहीं हैं ।

अभी तीन चार रोज की बात हैं कि हमारे दो तीन आदमी जा रहे थे । यकायक जंगल में उन पर हमला हुआ और उनमें से एक या दो आदमी मारे गये । अभी पूरे वाकयात नहीं आये हैं । तो ऐसे इलाके का, जो कि इतना पिछड़ा हुआ हैं और जहां इस तरह के लोग रहते हैं, आप आसाम हिल्स वालों से मुकाबला नहीं कर सकते । आसाम हिल्स के लोग बहुत आगे बढ़े हुए हैं । लेकिन जहां यह झगड़े हुए वहां की हालत ऐसी नहीं हैं । आप अगर वहां जाना चाहते हैं तो मैं आपको दावत देता हूं कि आप वहां जायें । लेकिन मैं आपको एक बात बतला दूं । पिछली दफा, मैं अपनी याद से कह रहा हूं, कुछ आपकी पार्टी के लोगों ने वहां जाने को कहा था । लेकिन जो साहब वहां जाना चाहते थे वह वहां पर झगड़ा कराने के लिए जाना चाहते थे, वह इस किस्म की तकरीरें कर रहे थे । अब आप याद रखिये कि दिल्ली में अगर ऐसी स्पीचेज की जाय तो उनका कोई असर नहीं होता । लेकिन उस इलाके में उनका बहुत बुरा असर हो सकता हैं । नार्थ ईस्ट फ्रांटियर एजेंसी के लोगों ने अभी तक कोई स्पीचेज नहीं सुनी हैं । अगर वहां पर आप अपनी पालिटिक्स ले जायें और घर घर जाकर स्पीचेज दें तो मैं नहीं कह सकता कि उसका क्या असर हो । हो सकता हैं कि जो स्पीचेज देने जायें उन्हीं का हैड हंटिंग हो जाय । उन स्पीचेज का यह भी असर हो सकता हैं । तो यह खतरनाक चीज हैं । उनसे कहा गया कि आप बखुशी आइये, लेकिन उन्होंने दूसरा सवाल पैदा किया । सिर्फ उनके जाने का सवाल नहीं था, उसके साथ ही उनके जाने का इन्तिजाम भी करना था । उन्होंने मांग

की थी कि दस पन्द्रह फौज के सिपाही उनकी देखभाल करने को उनके साथ भेजे जायं, क्योंकि उनको सौ पचास मील अन्दर जाना था। हमने कहा कि इस वक्त तो हम कोई इन्तिजाम नहीं कर सकते। तो सिर्फ दो एक आदमियों का जाकर देख आने का सवाल नहीं था। हम तो चाहते हैं कि लोग वहां जाकर देखें और खुद अन्दाजा करें, और फिर हमको बतलावें कि क्या करना चाहिए।

उन्होंने काश्मीर का जिक्र किया और जो कुछ काश्मीर के बारे में बहुत सी बातें कहीं उनको सुनकर मुझे ताज्जुब हुआ। उन्होंने कहा कि "दी सोल आफ काश्मीर इज बीइंग सफोकेटेड"

The soul of Kashmir is being suffocated

जाहिर है कि काश्मीर दूर है। मैं हिन्दुस्तान की निसबत भी यह नहीं कह सकता कि वहां सब जगह ठीक ही हो रहा है। लेकिन काश्मीर के बारे में मैं उनसे बहुत अदब से यह कहना चाहता हूं कि इन दो तीन सालों में काश्मीर ने बहुत तरक्की की है। हर तरफ तरक्की की है। और यह न समझिये कि हमने जो पैसा दिया है उसी से तरक्की हुई है। यह ठीक है कि हमने कुछ पैसा दिया है, पहले भी दिया था और अब भी दिया है, लेकिन सिर्फ पैसे से बहुत काम नहीं होता। जबतक लोग उस पैसे को ठीक तरह से इस्तेमाल करके आगे बढ़ने की कोशिश न करें तब तक कुछ नहीं हो सकता। यह ठीक है कि किसी कदर हमारी मदद से वह तरक्की हुई है, और अगर उसके बारे में मालूम करना है तो आप वहां के लोगों में जाकर देखिये कि वे उसकी तारीफ कर रहे हैं या नहीं, क्योंकि उससे उनको ही फायदा हुआ है। इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि लोक सभा के बहुत से सदस्य वहां गये होंगे और जो कुछ वहां हो रहा है उसको देखा होगा। डा० लंका सुन्दरम भी वहां गये थे और जो कुछ उन्होंने देखा उसकी बहुत लम्बी रिपोर्ट मेरे पास भेजी। और उन्होंने उस काम की बहुत तारीफ की। जाहिर है कि उन्होंने ऐसा किसी के कहने से नहीं किया। लेकिन बदकिस्मती से हमारे अशोक मेहता जी वहां गये तो उनको वहां कुछ नहीं दिखलायी दिया।

एक बात मैं बहुत अदब से अर्ज करूंगा। उन्होंने अपनी प्रजा सोशलिस्ट पार्टी का जिक्र किया। प्रजा सोशलिस्ट पार्टी हिन्दुस्तान की एक मुअज्जज और बड़ी पार्टी है। लेकिन उस पार्टी ने जो रंग काश्मीर में जमाया है वह एक नया ही रंग है। जो लोग कल तक प्रजापरिषद में थे वे ही आज प्रजा सोशलिस्ट पार्टी में हैं। प्रजापरिषद जो निहायत कम्युनल संस्था थी, उसके मेम्बर टोपी बदल कर उधर से इधर आ गये हैं। अगर कोई यह समझे कि ऐसा करने से उनका दिमाग बदल गया होगा, तो यह गलत है।

श्री अशोक मेहता : That is not true. जो कल तक नेशनल कानफरेंस में थे वह आज प्रजा सोशलिस्ट पार्टी में हैं।

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू : और प्रजापरिषद का कोई नहीं है?

श्री अशोक मेहता : प्रजापरिषद का कोई सदस्य नहीं है।

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू : क्या अर्ज करूं। लेकिन इतना मैं कह सकता हूं कि वहां पर जो प्रजा सोशलिस्ट पार्टी है उसके उसूल अलग ही हैं, उसके सिद्धान्त कुछ अलग ही हैं। और मैं अदब से अर्ज करूंगा कि कई इंटरनेशनल मामलों में तो उन्होंने हिन्दुस्तान की शान को बढ़ाया नहीं है। बल्कि जो हिन्दुस्तान के दुश्मन हैं उनको अपने ख्यालात से मदद पहुंचाई है। तो यह मुश्किल हो जाता है। मैं तो कहता हूं कि काश्मीर का दरवाजा बन्द नहीं है। काश्मीर में लोग आया जाया करते हैं। पारसाल कोई ३०,००० ट्रिरिस्ट वहां गये थे और इस साल भी जायंगे। उसको सब कोई देख सकता है। लेकिन मैं एक पेंच में पड़ जाता हूं क्योंकि वहां पर काश्मीर की गवर्नमेंट है जिस के ऊपर वहां की जिम्मेदारी है, और उसमें हम बहुत दखल नहीं दे सकते। यह ठीक है कि वे हमारे

[श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू]

दोस्त हैं और हम उनको सलाह दे सकते हैं, लेकिन हम उनके काम में ज्यादा दखल नहीं दे सकते। हम अपने यहां की स्टेट्स के काम में भी एक हद तक ही दखल दे सकते हैं। ज्यादा दखल देना कांस्टीट्यूशन के भी खिलाफ होगा, और भी किसी उसूल के खिलाफ होगा। काश्मीर का सवाल ज्यादा पेचीदा है। वह एक इंटरनेशनल सवाल हो गया है। वहां पर लड़ाई हुई, वहां पर जासूस आते हैं और अपना काम करते हैं। तरह तरह की बातें होती हैं। वहां की हुकूमत की जिम्मेदारी वहां की गवर्नमेंट की है। वहां के मामलात में बहुत दखल देना कोई सही बात नहीं होगी। क्या हम उन पर हुक्म चलावें? अव्वल तो हमको ऐसा करने का अधिकार नहीं है, और अगर हम ऐसा करें भी तो उसके लिए जिम्मेवार कौन होगा? इसलिए यह जरूरी है कि जो वहां हैं उसी की जिम्मेदारी रहे। हम उनको थोड़ी सलाह दे सकते हैं। और अगर वे हमारी सलाह लें तो हमको खुशी होगी।

मुझे शेख अबदुल्ला की गिरफ्तारी से रंज हुआ। यह सही है कि डेढ़ बरस हुआ शेख अबदुल्ला ने बहुत गलती की, और उससे अपने को और काश्मीर को बहुत नुक्सान पहुंचाया। लेकिन गलती हर एक कर सकता है। इससे मेरे दिल में जो उनकी मुहब्बत थी उसको धक्का लगा, लेकिन वह कम नहीं हुई, क्योंकि आखिर शेख अबदुल्ला ने काश्मीर के इतिहास में बड़ा हिस्सा लिया कि जो जा नहीं सकता है और इतिहास का हिस्सा है, लेकिन इतिहास का हिस्सा जो होता है वह भी गलती कर सकता है। फिर भी मैं काश्मीर में होता तो मैं अपनी जिम्मेदारी पर क्या करता, वह दूसरा सवाल है। मैं तो वहां पर नहीं था, वहां पर जो कुछ हुआ उसकी मुझे इत्तिला हुई और उस को सुन कर मुझे रंज हुआ। मुझे तो खुशी होगी जिस दिन शेख अबदुल्ला छोड़ दिये जांय, लेकिन मैं इस जिम्मेदारी को नहीं ले सकता कि मैं इन बातों पर अपना हुक्म चलाऊं, जब कि इन बातों की जिम्मेदारी वहां की गवर्नमेंट पर है। मैं एक बात और बताऊं कि इस सिलसिले में यहां डेढ़ वर्ष पहले जो गिरफ्तारियां हुई थीं, उनमें शायद तीन या चार शख्स गिरफ्तार हैं, यानी शेख अबदुल्ला और दो, तीन और लोग, और यह दो तीन जो हैं यह शेख अबदुल्ला के साथ खिदमत करने को हैं और इसलिए कि वह अकेले नहीं रहें। आप सब लोग हंसने लगे। वह तो उनके साथी हैं। मतलब यह है कि जो असल में उनमें मशहूर आदमी हैं, वह शेख साहब हैं, मतलब यह कि जो इम्पोर्टेंट आदमी थे, वह सब छूटे हुए हैं और मुझे तो खुशी हो अगर शेख साहब छोड़ दिये जायं लेकिन जैसा मैंने पहले कहा मैं अपने उपर इसकी जिम्मेदारी नहीं ओढ़ सकता हूं और यह मुनासिब नहीं मालूम होता कि जो हुकूमत इस बोझ को उठाये हुई है, मैं उसकी मर्जी के खिलाफ कुछ करूं, उलट पुलट करूं। हमें बहुत सारी बातें अपने प्रदेशों और सूबों की बर्दाश्त करनी होती हैं, और ऐसी बातें बर्दाश्त करनी होती हैं जो कि बहुत अच्छी नहीं होती हैं, लेकिन क्या किया जाय, आखिर वह एक जिम्मेदार हुकूमत होती है। लेकिन इतना मैं जरूर कहूंगा कि यह जो कहा गया है कि The soul of Kashmir is being suffocated यह मैं मानने को बिलकुल तैयार नहीं हूं। मैं तो यह कहूंगा कि जितनी खुशहाली से वहां पर एक 'सोल' खुलती है और दबती नहीं है, उस तरह से एक जमाने से वहां नहीं हुआ है। अब मैं सिर्फ एक दो बातें मुख्तसर में कह कर खत्म करूंगा।

श्री अशोक मेहता ने बहुत जोरों से कहा कि सेंट्रल अफ्रीकन फेडरेशन क्यों बुलायी गयी? मैं उनसे कहूं कि उसको इसलिए बुलाया गया कि हम एक शानदार लोग हैं और हम फर्क नहीं करते हैं। उसको इसलिए बुलाया गया था कि हमने तय किया था कि हम एक उसूल बनायेंगे और उसके लिए हमने सब लोगों को चाहे हमें कोई पसन्द हो या न हो, सबको बुलाया। अब अगर हम लोगों को उसमें बुलाने के लिए कोई उसूल रखते तो यही होता कि हम जिसे पसन्द करते हैं उसे बुलाते हैं और जिसे नापसन्द करते हैं उसे नहीं बुलाते हैं। अब अगर कोई आता है तो ऐसा करके हमारा

कोई नुकसान नहीं करता, और अगर नहीं आता तो उनको घर पर रहना मुबारिक हो। हां एक जगह आपने जरूर इशारा किया था कि साउथ अफ्रीका को क्यों नहीं बुलाया गया ? उसके लिए मैं कहूंगा कि जाहिर से उसके ताल्लुकात एशिया से दूसरे किस्म के हैं, वे जाहिर से और जगह भी हो सकते हैं। डा० लंका सुन्दरम् ने कुछ कम्बोडिया कमिशन के बारे में कहा, कम्बोडिया की हुकूमत ने खुद उनका जवाब दे दिया है, वहां की हुकूमत ने इस बारे में हमसे कोई शिकायत नहीं की और वहां के प्रिंस का यहां आना ही जाहिर करता है कि उन्हें हम से कोई शिकायत नहीं थी। मुझ से पूछा गया है कि सेगांव में जो सिविल वार हो रही है, उसमें क्या बनेगा ? अब मैं क्या बताऊं, क्या कहूं, कुछ कह नहीं सकता, उस जगह के हालात को देख कर मुझे तो "Sullivan & Gilbart Opera" याद आता है। एक अजीब तमाशा है। उन्होंने कहा कि वहां कहा गया था कि हमारी सलाह से मशविरे से कोई उनका इम्मिग्रेशन बिल रक्खा गया था*।

Are you following me, Dr. Lanka Sundaram?

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: May I interrupt the Prime Minister? If is not on your advice; I said that your consent was obtained for the provisions of the Amendment Bill.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: That is what was stated by the Ceylon Government.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram: That is right.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is not correct. What happened was this. I am not going into the exact details. It is not a question of a Bill or a part of a Bill being discussed by us. When the Prime Minister came here, it was considered in the context of the then agreement that we signed. It is part of that. For instance, as I said previously, I said, first a register should be made of all the people of Indian descent in Ceylon and of all Indians present in Ceylon. They may have gone there for one month or two months or five months. Having made this register you know who is there. The question of their nationality can be decided later. You know exactly who is there. If any person is found there later who is not on the register, then, the presumption arises or may arise that he has come in as an illegal immigrant. It can be rebutted. It was on the basis of a register being prepared that we said that if a person is not found in this register, you may put the burden of proof on him to show how he came in. That is what we agreed to. Now, it makes all the difference in the world by putting the burden of proof on the individual without preparing that register. If there is a register, there is something to go by. Outside that you may presume that somebody has come in anew. But, if you pick up some one and ask him to prove that he is not an illegal immigrant, it becomes very difficult for a poor man. We had agreed to certain things in a certain context. We have said that the matter, of course, is for the Ceylon Government to decide, but the matter should be referred to our High Commissioner so that he may be able to find out if he has any comment with regard to any particular man. That is the position.

I think Dr. Lanka Sundaram or some one else asked me whether the Prime Minister of Pakistan assured that he had withdrawn the reference to the Security Council in regard to Kashmir. No. Certainly not. He has given no assurance of this kind. I have not asked, nor do I intend to ask him. It is not a kind of assurance that one demands from some one else. Apart from that, I do not know how such things are withdrawn. The fact is that no action has been taken for a long time. When any talks take place, they are independent of any Security Council or any outside authority.

Mr. Chairman: I shall now put to the House the cut motions.

The cut motions were negatived.

*English version of this speech is appearing in Appendix VIII, annexure No. 61A

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That the respective sums not exceeding the amounts shown in the fourth column of the Order Paper, be granted to the President, to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1956, in respect of the following heads of Demands entered in the second column thereof:

Demands Nos. 21, 22, 23, 24, and 113."

The motion was adopted.

[*The motion for Demands for Grants which were adopted by the Lok Sabha are reproduced below.*—Ed. of P.P.]

DEMAND NO. 21—TRIBAL AREAS.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,34,11,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1956, in respect of 'Tribal Areas'."

DEMAND NO. 22—EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 6,21,00,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1956, in respect of 'External Affairs'."

DEMAND NO. 23—STATE OF PONDICHERRY

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,89,83,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1956, in respect of 'State of Pondicherry'."

DEMAND NO. 24—MISCELLANEOUS EXPENDITURE UNDER THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,88,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1956, in respect of 'Miscellaneous Expenditure under the Ministry of External Affairs'."

DEMAND NO. 113—CAPITAL OUTLAY OF THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 22,92,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1956, in respect of 'Capital Outlay of the Ministry of External Affairs'."

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Saturday the 2nd April, 1955.

———